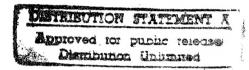
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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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# MAPUTO RADIO COMMENTS ON REGIONAL UNITY

MB111641 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1000 GMT 11 Aug 83

### [Station commentary]

[Text] The independent states of Southern Africa work hard to achieve regional unity. They have to overcome the barriers of past colonial isolation, differences of the language, even differences in political style. Substantial progress is made in regional meetings. A good example is the recent summit in Maputo of the member states of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference. The broad lines of policy are given practical shape in the frequent meetings of ministers and officials in specific fields. The most recent of these was the gathering in Zimbabwe of information ministers of the Frontline States.

Effective unity is built at two other levels. Contacts at leadership level must be reinforced by contacts at the grassroots. The unity in the region is underpinned by the web of bilateral relations. Some of the bilateral links are of long standing. The personal understanding between Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere and Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has been reflected in dramatic projects to overcome the isolation the countries experienced in the colonial period, even though Britain was the alien power in both countries, and the Tazara railway, with China's backing.

Some bilateral links were forged in the experience of armed struggle for national liberation. Mozambique and Zimbabwe overcame settler colonialism through protracted armed struggle. The liberation movements had closed contacts and provided mutual support and encouragement. That spirit has continued after the independence of the two countries. When Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe comes to Maputo he is among friends and comrades. Similarly a visit by President Samora Machel to Zimbabwe is a kind of family homecoming.

All the African countries in the region need to build understanding. All are threatened by South Africa's strategy of destabilization. The independent parties and governments need to understand a language used by each of their neighbors. Mozambique has a vanguard Marxist-Leninist party, but it is a

Marxism that grows out of the specific experiences of the Mozambican people. Zimbabwe's ruling party has affinities with Mozambique's Frelimo Party. The political process in Botswana and Zambia, for example, took a different form, and those countries and their neighbors have much to learn from each other. This is a contact that makes two current exchanges of great significance to our region. A Frelimo Party delegation, led by Joaquim Chissano of the Political Bureau, has just completed an extensive visit to Zambia to deepen contacts with Zambia's United National Independence Party.

From Zimbabwe the prime minister, Mr Mugabe, has begun a visit to Botswana for discussions with Botswana's President Quett Masire. The success of these bilateral encounters augers will for the long-term hopes of the entire region.

CSO: 3400/1768

EFFORTS TO PROMOTE BANTU CULTURE REPORTED

Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 25 Jul 83 p 4

[Article hy Bonface Banda]

[Text]

MINISTERIAL TEAMS from eleven African countries including Zambia met recently in Libreville, Gabon for a conference of Cultural Ministers on the establishment of the International Centre for the Bantu Civilizations [CICIBA].

The meeting followed a consensus which was achieved on the creation of the centre during the second conference of the Cultural Ministers of the Bantu Zone held in Libreville, from January 4 to 8 this year.

During that second conference of Cultural Ministers, the International Centre for the Bantu Civilization was created by the Initiative of President El Hadi Omar Bongo, of Gabon.

"The Centre is defined as that of research, documentation, training and cultural activities involving 22 countries, and 150 million Bantus. It testifies to the political goodwill of its initiator and of the governments of the countries that have participated in its creation, to keep and to promote the shared cultural patrimony of the peoples of Bantu languages and cultures, the demographic distribution of which represents about 30 per cent of the African continent.

The Centre's principal mussion is, on the one hand, to bring together the data that would allow a definition and

illustration of the cultural identity of the Bantu peoples of yesterday and today and, on the other hand, to contribute through the analysis of these data, studies on them and the distribution of this information, to the emergence of a new Bantu civilization founded upon the voluntary and conscious participation of the people concerned.

CICIBA has its heardquarters in Libreville, where a multi-disciplinary complex will be put together by the Gabonese government.

Minister of State for Culture Mr. Cosmas Chibanda who represented Zambia at this conference accompanied by the

Director of Cultural Services Mr. Bishop Sinyangwe said: "This complex will include two principal regions, one open to the general public, and the other reserved for research.'

Mr. Chibanda who was elecied vice-chairman at the first administrative board meeting said that the sources of income of CICIBA come from the contributions of the member states, income received in exchange for services granted. donations, legacies, and subsidies and loans.

The objectives of CICIBA include:-

• The promotion of research and studies on the Bantu culture and civilization:

· Distribution and promotion of research on African cultures in general;

• Ensuring the training and retraining of teachers, artists, researchers, and directors of cultural activities;

• Co-operate with national inter-African and international institutions of a cultural, scientific and educational nature paying special attention to the intensification of relations and co-operation between the of countries Bantu zone.

• Encouraging cultural nieetings and exchanges between member states in the form of seminars, conventions, festivals, and other events.

· Contributing by any means within its power, to the integration of the development of the cultural dimension into the plans and projects being set up or carried out.

A data bank and a documentation centre on the cultures and civilizations of the peoples of the Bantu Zone has been set up and the carrying out of operations has already begun iu Gabon.

Currently several African countries are carrying out research of the Bantu migrations . since the most remote times. Historians of these countries are presently carrying research on the oral traditions, collection of written and oral material on the Bantu cultural

traditions.

In this field of study of the Bantu migrations and expausion, three Congolese historians from the Marien Ngouabi University School of Arts and Humanities in the and ... Anthropology

Laboratory Department, Brazzaville in Congo, Dominique Ngoie-Ngalla, Francois Ewani, and Abraham Ndinga-Mbo are jointly working on this project.

Since 1977 the Documentary Studies and Research Centre on Central Africa at Lubumbashi University School of Arts has been promoting a similar project, while the centre would like to theorize concerning the philosophical problems in Africa for better understanding of the African reality in order to master it and to put it at the service of Africans.

Another centre for the Study of African Religious (CERA) in the School of Catholic Theology of Kinshasa University in Zaire is undertaking a research on African religions, beliefs and customs (traditional and modern). The centre has already organized two international symposia Off African spirituality. The first took place in January 1978, on "African Religions and Christianity,' while the second took place this year in February, on "Africa and its Spiritual life."

And on a more or less similar note with the centre for the Study of African Religions in Zaire, the Gabonese Institute of Research in the Humanities at the National Omar Bongo University is carrying out research on the teaching of philosophy and its impact on the social and economic development of Gabon, and on the world of witchcraft (giving insight into the problems of beliefs, fetishes and magic healing).

At the National Institute of Academic Research, Butare, Rwanda, the history department of this institute is presently undertaking a research on the oral traditions in Rwanda while the Department of Literature is now collecting texts from the Rwandese literature, arranging them for publication and preparing critical studies on them.

The institute emphasizes on the compilation of materials on a history of ethnic groups, the setting up of a documented and annotated collection on tradition, and the study of the chronology of inter-lake dwe-

llers in Africa.

Among other activities the Rwandese National University is involved at the Group of Studies and Research in Applied Linguistics, School of Arts at Ruhengeri are the preparations of critical anthology of Rwandese tales and carrying research on the Rwandese songs and their social and cultural impact.

The Centre of Burundese Civilization under the auspices of the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture in Bujumbura. Burundi is also carrving research activities on all aspects of oral traditions, history, archeology, literature and technology.

In the English-speaking Africa, and particularly in Tanzania, many institutions are presently undertaking the study and promotion of Kiswahili. The Department of African Languages and Literature of the School of Arts at the National University of Rwanda is focusing its activities on Literature (poetry, novel etc. and linguistics (phonetics, phonology, vocabulary, syntax etc.) of Kingwanda and Kiswahili. This project might prove of interest to writers and researches, or other persons involved in cultural affairs in sub-Saharan Africa.

In Zimbabwe, the National Archives has embarked on a programme concerning oral history which aims at obtaining materials through interviews, in order to get documentation on the history of Zimbabwe. Oral traditions have been added to this programme coverage.

But times change and cultures fade or evolve, and many people have now lost for ever their rich oral tradition.

"In Africa the "Old man" s still there today; infact many old men and women can be found throughout the continent who are fluently versed in the words of the by-gone world. Moreover, as health facilities and social amenities improve the number of old people will increase.

"But will new generations of elderly still have the mental store-house of stories or, more to the point, will they know the same stories in the original version, and will an evolving culture leave them with an audience to appreciate: their wisdom and to take over the custody of the traditions and histories that are being offered?" A UNESCO correspondent once asked.

This is a problem that has become a cause for increasing concern among those interested in safeguarding the benefits which undoubtedly exist in many of the ways of the old.

A Congolese specialist in secondary education who has made a detailed study of ways of using to best advantage the cultural wealth which the people of Africa still possess said in a work-paper submitted to the education sector of UNESCO: -"It is not yet too late to make use of the knowedge of the elderly, but time is running.

Adding his voice to the growing number of people who are calling urgently for Africa's oral heritage to be collected, Mr. J.B. Dongala suggests that one way to safeguard this heritage would be to integrate those of the older generation - whether or not they be literate in the ge-\* neral sense of the word-into the existing education system to pass on their knowledge through it.

#### AFRICA

"The collecting of the oral

heritage of Africa must be urgently undertaken for several reasons," Mr. Dongala urges. "If, as is said, history gathers momentum, it is often forgotten that events, seen as significant when they occur, sink rapidly into obscurity after only a few months. The phenomenon is accentuated in the case of collective memory, when a change of environment occurs. For insance, what remains of African traditions in the minds of Africans transplanted to the Americas?"

Mr. Dongala lists the many advantages of oral tradition which, he says, is often less biased in its narration of the facts that written source "being less expanded and amended."

In oral societies in Africa "not only is the power of recall highly developed and therefore reliable and trustworthy, but in addition the spoken word binds men together since 'it ensures social cohesion.'

Yet even today, after years of study of Africa's oral traditions, there is still lack of material which can be used as a basis for study of this heritage. Existing literature is generally too specialised to be used for general education. Mr. Dongala calls for the "ancients" to be integrated into modern institutions, whatever their own educational background, and joins the call for an "academy of Ancients" to be set up in Africa.

And to express the value of the elderly he quotes the words of Hampate "Every old man who dies is like a library destroyed." The danger of course, is that unless the "library" is memorised, it will go to the grave with last of its possessors.

Meanwhile, a draft programme of research and activities of the International Centre for the Bantu Civilisations for the period of 1984-85 was recently released during the second conference of Cultural ministers of the Bantu region

BANTU

in Libreville.

The research and activities of the draft programme concern the Bantu cultural identity and should him simultaneously for the definition of geographic limits, as well as the linguistic extension of the Bantu culture and study the Bantu migration.

The aim will be to establish on the one hand, a Bantu Cultural Atlas, and on the other hand, produce maps of migrations. These maps would show . the various streams and axes of migrations, in addition to determining a chronology of

these migrations.

The benefit of such research is to achieve a better understanding of the specific values of the Bantu cultural identity, to clarify and specify the steps and mechanisms of the birth and development of the Bantu languages and cultures, as well as the common characteristics between the languages and cultures of other African regions, for instance the Arab-Islamic region, and of the world, says the research programme.

Three seminars will be organised on the theme of "The Cultural Identity of the Peoples of the Bantu Languages," considering that the study of the Bantu migrations and expansion has been included for some years in the programmes of national research institutes in the Bantu Zone, and that several researchers in the world are now studying this

same topic.

Meanwhile, Mr Chibanda, said that during the third conference of Cultural Ministers of the International Centre for the Bantu Civilisation Zambia was offered the posts of Deputy Director-General and that of a stenographer for the centre.

"The candidates," he said, "should be bilingual in speaking English and French.

Mr Chibanda said; "The candidate of the post of Deputy Director-General will come from the University of Zambia."

# EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GHALI REAFFIRMS EGYPT'S SUPPORT

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 9 Jul 83 p 2

[Text] Butrus Ghali, Egypt's minister of state for foreign affairs, speaking at the February 4 International Airport in Luanda, said yesterday morning that relations between his country and the People's Republic of Angola are very good.

The Egyptian diplomat, who made these remarks at a press conference which marked the end of his 2-day official visit to Angola, also said that his government supports all the efforts of the Angolan authorities relating to the Namibia problem.

Referring to the situation in Chad, Butrus Ghali confirmed that his country supports the present government in N'Djamena and condemns any and all interference by foreign forces in the conflict which pits the forces of Hissein Habre against those of the GUNT [Transitional National Union Government], of Goukouni Weddeye.

Regarding the present divergences in the heart of the PLO, the chief of Egyptian diplomacy called for the reconciliation of the forces which make up the movement in order to strengthen the fight against the enemy they all have in common--Zionism.

Butrus Ghali, who received a send-off from his Angolan counterpart, Paulo Jorge, left for Libreville (Gabon), from where he will continue on to Kinshasa and Brazzaville.

During his stay in Angola, Butrus Ghali delivered a personal message from the Egyptian head of state, Hosni Mubarak, to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos; made contact with the minister of foreign trade, Ismael Martins, with whom he signed a trade agreement, and with the secretary of state for cooperation; and gave a talk on "Egypt's foreign policy, principally in relation to the situation in southern Africa."

For Angola's part, the minister of foreign affairs, Paulo Jorge, led the official talks with Ghali.

Yesterday, the joint communique signed by Paulo Jorge and Butrus Ghali, respectively the Angolan and the Egyptian ministers of foreign affairs, was released to the press.

The ministers held talks in a cordial atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding, studying on one hand the ways of further developing bilateral relations, and on the other hand, the great problems of the international situation, namely the situation in the Middle East and in southern Africa. They expressed their concern over the increase of tensions on the African continent and they condemned the imperialist maneuvers exercised in Africa, which they see as impeding the total liberation of the continent.

Both ministers condemned the continual aggressions perpetrated by the racist regime in Pretoria against the People's Republic of Angola and other Front Line countries and they demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory. Mr Ghali expressed the profound solidarity of the people and government of the Arab Republic of Egypt with the people and government of the People's Republic of Angola in the face of the acts of aggression of the racist regime in Pretoria and to its occupation of a part of Angolan territory.

With respect the the Namibia problem, the two ministers reaffirmed their support for the Namibian people, for the liberation of the territory, and for the establishment of an independent Namibian state under the direction of SWAPO, its only legitimate representative. They demanded the total and immediate application of Resolution 435 of the United Nations Security Council and the resolutions pertaining to the OAU, and they categorically rejected all attempts to link the independence of Namibia with the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, which concerns only the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola.

Both sides firmly condemned the inhumane and barbarous practices of the Pretoria regime which violate the charter of the United Nations and the norms of civilized nations, and reaffirmed their solidarity with the people of South Africa in their fight for independence.

Both sides expressed their deep concern for the prevailing situation in Chad and requested that all parties involved try to assure the stability, security, and territorial integrity of this African state.

Both sides expressed their deep concern for the serious situation in the Middle East and their solidarity with the Palestinian people in their fight for national rights under the guidance of the PLO, their legitimate representative. They also confirmed their conviction that the attainment of Palestinian rights and in particular the right of the people to selfdetermination and to the establishment of its own independent state must be based on a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The ministers both expressed their intense condemnation of the aggression perpetrated by Israel in June 1982 against Lebanon, as well as the illegal occupation of this state's territory. They requested the immediate withdrawal

of these occupation forces and respect for the sovereignty, national independence, and territorial integrity of Lebanon, so that the government of this country can, with peace and stability, undertake reconstruction and reestablish national unity.

The two ministers reaffirmed the strong adhesion of their governments to the charter of the OAU and to the principles of nonalignment, and spoke for the reinforcement of the role of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in light of the threats of the new cold war, pro-war policy, and the arms race.

During the talks, both sides discussed the ways and means of developing cooperation between the two countries in various areas—namely economic and cultural aspects, and they expressed the conviction that these talks are the point of departure for the development of bilateral relations between the two countries. In this context, the Egyptian minister of state was received by Angolan Government leaders, namely the minister of foreign trade, the interim secretary of state of cooperation. The Egyptian minister of state held talks with these Angolan leaders which were fruitful and constructive, and which also resulted in the signing of a trade agreement between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the People's Republic of Angola.

The minister of state for foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt expressed his deep gratitude to the People's Republic of Angola for the friendly and warm reception and hospitality which was extended to him, as well as to the delegation which accompanied him. The Egyptian minister extended an invication to the Angolan minister of foreign affairs to make an official visit to Egypt, an invitation which was accepted with pleasure.

12353

CSO: 3442/298

# ZIMBABWEAN TROUBLES THREATEN NATION'S SECURITY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Jul 83 p 8

[Article by Brendan Nicholson]

#### [Text]

Botswana is awaiting the outcome of Mr Joshua Nkomo's peace feelers with as much anxiety as the tribespeople and white farmers of Matabeleland.

Surrounded by South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, the thinly populated republic was given by history an uncomfortably close view of other people's wars.

There has long been a fear in government circles that the various conflicts next door could turn one of the continent's few functioning democracies into an African Lebanon.

Despite top-level discussions between the Zimbabwe and Botswana governments there is still a real possibility that a fresh eruption in Matabeleland could spill over the border into Botswana.

Independent sources in both countries say that as recently as three weeks ago it seemed likely that Zimbabwean troops involved in anti-dissident operations might mount a hot-pursuit raid over the border to round up refugees in the Dukwi resettlement camp and in villages surrounding it.

Botswana's President Quett Masire flatly refused to give permission for such an operation and told Zimbabwe that his country would continue to give succour to genuine refugees.

Observers in Gaborone say the threat has receded, for the time being at least, as communications between the two countries have improved.

Strangely, though they are both Frontline states, Zimbabwe and Botswana have never established formal diplomatic relations.

After a series of dangerous misunderstandings — including a claim by the Zimbabwean Press that Botswana had "declared war" on Zimbabwe by allowing Mr Nkomo passage on his way to exile in London — Gaborone and Harare agreed to exchange ambassadors though they have not done so yet.

Cross-border action by Zimbabwe forces is unlikely as long as the politicians and not the more hawkish members of the armed forces are giving the orders.

A copy of the secret "peace plan" sent by Mr Nkomo to Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was brought back for the Gaborone authorities by Mr Makathini Guduza, the most senior Zapu official in Botswana's Dukwi resettlement camp.

A huge area of Matabeleland and neighbouring Botswana's eastern border region remains tense despite government assurances that the main anti-dissident operations were successfully completed weeks ago.

Farmers who thought their troubles were over with the end of the war now keep weapons close to hand and an ear to the "Agricalert" radio warning system.

More than 30 members of the white rural community have been

murdered since the Matabeleland violence began last year.

Much of the local black population appears openly scornful of

both the army and the police.

After most of the attacks on farmhouses or ambushes of buses, the culprits have easily evaded pursuing security forces by disappearing — not over the border but into the former tribal trust areas.

Zapu officials in Botswana boasted that despite the security clampdown in western Zimbabwe they were now able to move in the border areas with far greater safety than they could "when Smith was in charge".

Refugees are still crossing into Botswana at the rate of up to 20 a

Zapu officials insist that the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade of the Zimbabwe National Army, which was blamed for slaying up to 3 000 villagers, is still operating in parts of Matabeleland.

Three weeks ago, long after the more aggressive security force members were said to have been reined in, two young men arrived in Dukwi minus their ears. They claimed Fifth Brigade soldiers wielding bayonets had hacked them off.

It is almost impossible to sift out the incidents of crime from

politically motivated violence.

There are indications that either Zapu has lost control of its more militant members or that some groups are now operating independently with the sympathy of local villagers.

A clear contradiction emerged when Zapu officials pointed to the recent murder of farmer Ian Brebner as an example of how "dissidents" were being blamed for everything.

"That's crazy," one said. "The young man was a good friend of Zapu."

But it emerged later that just before he was killed Mr Brebner had called the army in to move villagers' cattle which were being grazed illegally on his land.

While that makes the killing no less horrifying, it does provide a

reason for it and a clue to a possible pattern.

Whether they belong to Zapu or not, it appears the "dissidents" are seen by many villagers as Robin Hood types standing between them and the security forces and who find the farmers softer targets than the troops.

Even though the Botswana authorities, who have an impeccable record as far as hospitality to refugees is concerned, are doing everything in their power to ensure that their territory is not used as a springboard for attacks on Zimbabwe, the Mugabe Government clearly has good reason to be worried.

The whole Botswana defence force numbers no more than 3500

men who must patrol a border hundreds of kilometres long.

There are officially about 3 330 Zimbabwean refugees, in whose camp there is an undisclosed, though clearly large, proportion of young men of military age.

While most residents work in the fields or on self-help projects dozens of these stand around in groups with all the time in the

world to talk and scheme.

Botswana officials say that about 50 Zimbabweans have been sent back home after it was proved that they were carrying arms in Botswana or were simply common criminals who joined the rush

Several hundred more Zimbabweans sent back had come seeking employment and were not refugees, the officials said. Zapu claims that up to 7000 refugees have fled to Botswana in all. Some, they say, have drifted home again and others have gone to live with fellow tribesmen in nearby villages.

The Zapu hierarchy in the camp denies emphatically that any men are being trained there to fight.

Mr Guduza, a member of the Zapu central committee, said he wanted Zimbabwe's Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Simon Muzenda, to visit the camp to see for himself that it was not being used as a

Mr Guduza claims the killings blamed on the dissidents are simply acts of banditry or atrocities deliberately carried out by the security forces to blacken the name of Zapu or give them an excuse to move into areas where they want to chastise villagers.

Mr Guduza said Dukwi had been infiltrated by at least five members of the Zimbabwean Central Intelligence Organisation.

However seriously Mr Nkomo's propsals are taken in Harare it is clear from visits to both eastern Botswana and western Matabeleland that, unless something significant is done to defuse the bitterness, renewed violence is a very real possibility.

CSO: 3400/1688 ZAPU SUPPORTERS AT DUKWI FACE POLITICAL CRISIS

Gaborone BOTSWANA GUARDIAN in English 1 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] A major political crisis is facing ZAPU supporters at Dukwi resulting in factional rivalries between members of a newly formed ZAPU-Super, which is said to be led by a former senior ZIPRA Combatant who is a member of the Central Committee.

It is alleged by the majority of the ZAPU-PF supporters that the former ZIPRA Logistics Officer at Selebi Phikwe has been sending agents and recruiting young men between the ages of 13 and 20 to undergo military training in South Africa with a view of liberating Matebeleland. The name of the man was withheld from publication.

Another senior member of ZAPU-PF's Central Committee has been warned by some ZAPU supporters not to come back to Dukwi where he had been living, since they claim they know about his attempt to recruit young men and women for training in South Africa.

Sources close to the leadership wrangle have claimed that ZAPU-PF supports socialism and that a majority of the members argue that during the independence struggle their arms came from the Eastern Socialist Bloc and see no reason why some of the party's leaders should now deal with South Africa.

As the loca leadership wrangle hotted up, a man who it is claimed had convened a recruiting meeting at Dukwi and sent a messenger around the Zimbabwean refugees' homes under the pretext that the son of ZAPU-PF Leader, Mr Joshua Nkomo was in Dukwi

from Gaborone, was attacked by Zimbabwean youths and arrested. The man was later handed over to Police here for interrogation.

Three days after this incident, a high powered delegation of ZAPU officials based in Gaborone were summoned to Dukwi to sort out the differences. According to sources present the meeting was also attended by Security Police, Refugee and Botswana Government Officials.

Sources could not divulge the outcome of the meeting or the agenda, but the future of ZAPU looks bleak as more Zimbabweans are demanding that their local leaders get in touch with Mr Nkomo to find out what they were supposed to do regarding the political situation in Zimbabwe and their future in exile. There is growing dissatisfaction within the party's rank and file. No comment could be obtained from the local police here.

CSO: 3400/1688

MOGWE COMMENTS ON U.S. POLICY, RELATIONS WITH ZIMBABWE Gaborone THE GUARDIAN in English 10 Jun 83 p 5

[Foreign Minister Mogwe interviewed by Kwapeng Modikwe]

[Excerpt]

Guardian: Following a recent bomb explosion in Pretoria, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha claimed that he had previously had a meeting with Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique at which he produced evidence that these countries have military training camps for freedom fighters. He then threatened that his country would take military and economic action against them. What is the Minister's reaction to such a serious threat?

Mogwe:

Botha and discussed a number of things affecting our two countries, about our security and their security. We have spoken about kidnappings that have taken place in Botswana. But since his threats, we have never met because I have been away. South Africa has said that she would take military or economic action against

neighbouring states and of course they have taken such actions in Mozambique. In their view, the South Africans think their action is justified but I think it is a very dangerous action because anybody can just go and cause trouble in Zeerust and then they hold Botswana responsible because it happens to be near our border.

Guardian: Observers see Reagan's foreign policy on Africa as a failure. Do you think we are likely to see dramatic changes in his policy now that the Americans will be going to elections next year?

Mogwe: I do not know if there will be changes in the American foreign policy towards Africa. I think this was very clear even from the meeting we attended in the UN that the Reagan Administration will stick fast to its position on Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban forces

in Angola. Admittedly, there has been talks going on between the US and Angola and between Angolan authorities and South Africa. The aim no doubt is to resolve the deadlock.

Guardian: We have established diplomatic relations with Zimbabwe "with immediate effect." Could this decision have been influenced by the question of dissidents?

Mogwe: You probably have heard from a commentary about our establishment of diplomatic relations with Zimbabwe. that we Botswana are the last Frontline State to enter into such relations. The other people entered into relations because of dissidents but we don't see why you should think that Botswana did so because of dissidents. It is just that we in Frontline States certainly regard relations with Zimbabwe as important and vital.

cso: 3400/1688

#### BPU VICE PRESIDENT JAILED

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 5 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by Larona Sedimo]

[Text]

MAHALAPYE, JULY 1: Gaborekwe Molake, (51) of this Central District village was sentenced to three years imprisonment for illegal possession of diamonds here today.

One year was suspended for three years on condition that he does not contravene section (B) of the precious stones Industry Act during the period of suspension.

Molake who is the Vice President of the Opposition Botswana Progressive Union Party (BPU) and former Subordinate Tribal Authority for Mahalapye is however not in prison because he indicated to the court that he was appealing against the judgement.

The accused was required to signed a bond of P2 500 pending

the appeal.

The conditions of the bail are that the accused reports to the Mahalapye Police every Monday. He also has to surrender his passport to the police.

Molake was convicted by the Mahalapye Senior Magistrate Mr Kenneth Peter Hough here on June 27.

The Defence Attorney Mr M.Z.N. Mzimande had asked the court to consider a suspended sentence when passing judgment because putting the accused in prison will be punishing his dependents.

He said Molake has children to support and that some were at secondary schools.

Molake was arrested at Mahalapye on September 2 last year for possession of five rough and uncut diamonds valued at P1 392,02.

He appeared before the Gaborone Chief Magistrate Mr G.L. Patel when he pleaded not guilty to the charge. He was also detained for 14 days pending police investigations after which he signed bond allowing him to be out of custody whilst awaiting trial.

The following week he applied for the case to be transfered to Mahalapye.

When passing judgment, Mr Hough said that dealing in diamonds was a threat to the diamond industry and the economy of the country.

Molake's trial started January this year. It attracted hundreds of people from Mahalapye and surrounding villages. BOPA

CSO: 3400/1688

NATION'S ECONOMIC GAINS, VULNERABILITY EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 21, 28 Jun 83

[Article by Jasper Mortimer]

[21 Jun 83 p 19M]

[Text] Botswana's revenue from diamonds this year is expected to top R360 million — up R135 million on the 1982 earnings, a Ministry of Mineral Resources spokesman has announced.

The increase is due largely to Botswana's third and most important diamond pipe, the Jwaneng mine, though it has been helped by the upturn in the diamond market.

The news is good for a counctry that had the highest growth rate in Africa during the 1970s but suddenly had a negative growth rate in 1981-82 because the slump in the high-priced gem market cut its earnings 40 percent.

Until 1981 diamonds had been an unmitigated marvel for Bo-

When the country gained independence in 1966 it was one of the world's 25 poorest nations. The gross domestic prosduct was R37 million and there was not one state-owned high school.

The next year De Beers discovered Orapa, the second biggest ment wisely invested the inpipe in the world. Orapa came into production in 1971, its sa-"tellite pipe Letlhakane in 1977 and the GDP leapt from R102 million in 1971 to R671 million in 1980 (converting 1 pula as R1).

#### **VULNERABLE**

Real economic growth in 1970-78 was a dramatic 13 percent a year.

But the heavy dependence on diamonds and beef created a distinct vulnerability.

"What happens to beef and diamonds determines what happens to employment, the balance of payments and GDP growth," the Governor of the Bank of Botswana, Mr Festus Mogae, said in 1981.

Today diamonds are still being stockpiled in Gaberone as the market has not improved enough for the Central Selling Organisation to lift the 60 percent quota imposed in 1981.

But output is rising and will match South Africa's 9,5 million carats in 1985. The State receives about 75 percent of De Beers-Botswana's profits.

The economic problem of Botswana, it is agreed, is not a shortage of capital but finding the best way to use it.

In the early years the Governcome from diamonds and foreign aid in infrastructure.

The 900km road from SA through Francistown to Natal was tarred. Boreholes were sunk for water. Primary schools were built for 90 percent of school-age children and health clinics are now within reach of 85 percent of the population.

Though these measures have improved living standards, they have not raised the incomes of the nearly 1 million population. The wealth has been concentrated among the few who earn wages (only 83 400 in 1980). The mines make money but employ few - about 10 000.

"Little of the new prosperity has filtered through to the rural population," writes T W K Scott, a former EEC adviser to Botswana. A 1974-75 survey found 45 percent of rural households did not own the most important asset: cattle. A mere 5 percent of households owned half the national herd (3 million cattle).

The average daily wage in the traditional farming sector in 1980 was estimated at 91c for crops and 35c for livestock; the minimum daily wage in the private sector was about R2,80 and in the public sector about R4.

With the drought now aggravating rural poverty, little wonder that Botswana was recently found to have the highest urbanisation rate in Africa.

Perhaps the sharpest illustration of its needs is the fact that the labour force is growing at about 15 000 a year whereas job creation is about 10 000 a year.

The biggest scope for making up this shortfall is in the informal and agricultural sectors. Beef products will reach R105 million in export revenue this year, Botswana Meat Commission chairman Titus Madisa has said. The problem lies in the non-cattle area.

Crop outputs have stagnated. Botswana is importing more than half its grain. The Government placed much attention on a scheme to upgrade small-scale farming, but so far the results have not been "unambiguously successful" — as one observer put it — and the drought has almost stalled it.

"Whatever resources have been put into agriculture have not been sufficient to get the non-cattle sector moving fast enough," said a Gaborone economist. "The Government is looking for additional ways to stimulate crops, vegetables, poultry and dairying."

But manufacturing has grown rapidly. From a R29 million input to the GDP in 1979-80 it has risen to R40 million in 1981-82 with a real annual growth rate of 8,5 percent.

Though beef products still dominate manufacturing, recent years have seen a proliferation of small enterprises, mainly in clothing and building materials.

The State introduced the Financial Assistance Policy last year to stimulate growth of small businesses. This will promote manufacturing, but overall it faces a stiff challenge.

At a public meeting in Gaborone last year a student asked Foreign Minister Archie Mogwe why, after 16 years of independence, Botswana still could not make matches.

Economists would say Botswana's meagre population does not provide a market capable of justifying a factory producing matches and many other consumer goods. Yet the question highlighted the constraints on developing manufacturing in Botswana: a small market and a big shortage of raw materials.

Even factories making import-substitutes will still have to depend on imported materials.

"Botswana's resources are extreme, not varied," said one economist. "The pattern of exporting diamonds and beef products and importing manufacture will continue for a long time."

[28 Jun 83 p 23M]

[Text]

The Botswana Government's taking 75 percent of the profits of the diamond mines discovered by De Beers is preposterous, says Professor Theo Beukes of RAU's mineral economics department.

Asked why he thought De Beers agreed to it, the professor said: "De

Beers are locked in."

The image of the quiet Gaborone Government exploiting the world diamond monopoly seems absurd. Yet the professor points out that Botswana's policies differ radically from South Africa's.

There the government, admittedly of much greater resources, provides the infrastructure for a mine, allows the mining company to own the mineral rights (except with gold), and demands no free equity in the company.

In 1969 De Beers formed the Debswana company to mine Orapa, the first pipe found in Botswana. The government received 15 percent of the equity without payment.

To develop the mine De Beers had to provide the infrastructure — a township, a power station, a 50-km water supply line — and by the time Orapa came on stream in 1971 it had cost R25 million.

When Orapa proved to be more profitable than anyone had expected, the Government decided to re-negotiate the mining contract.

In terms of the agreement signed in 1975 the government's equity in Debswana rose to 50 percent, again without payment, and the royalty and tax systems were revised.

In developing the Jwaneng mine, which came into production last year, Debswana again had to provide substantial infrastructure.

There was one difference. This time the government paid 20 percent of the R290 million cost.

Although the government and De Beers have equal shareholdings in Debswana, this does not reveal how the profits are split. "These are shared on a formula agreed by the parties and designed to give the government the substantially larger share," said Mr Louis Nchindo, the resident Debswana director in Gaborone.

Through this formula, which takes account of royalties, taxes and dividends, the government receives close to 75 percent of the profits, Mr Nchindo has disclosed.

"The Debswana contract," asserted Professor Beukes, "rips rewards from risks. There's no proportion between what De Beers invested and what it earns."

"If the government cannot afford to pay for the infrastructure, then it must forgo the gratis equity and the State's ownership of mineral rights. The developer must have security of tenure."

The professor cannot accept that the re-negotiated contract has achieved the best deal for the Batswana.

"Those rules of the game will mean that the Botswana people will be worse off, because other mining companies will be frightened and minerals will be left buried.

"A mining contract with the Botswana Government is no longer worth the paper it is written on because it can always be re-negotiated. Re-negotiation is creeping nationalisation."

Botswana's policies towards mining companies have been a success, the Minister of Mineral Resources, Dr G K Chiepe, has said.

While most developing states have seen a decline in prospecting, Botswana has experienced an increase.

Four multinationals, including BP speech in Gaborone by deputy chairand Shell, were looking for coal, Dr man Julian Ogilvie Thompson. respect for each other and mutual concern." Chiepe said.

The object of her department's po-licies was to ensure significant benefits for the Batswana and not just jobs for a few years.

Recalling the long and arduous negotiations that went into the Debswana arrangement, Mr Ogilvie Thompson said: "They are the result of your government's negotiating Asked to comment, a De Beers skill. A true sense of partnership has spokesman referred to a recent been built on both sides, comprising

A diamond market observer said that for De Beers to maintain its dominance of world trading, its negotiators could not afford to adopt a take it or leave it line with Gaborone.

CSO: 3400/1688

#### DEPARTMENT OF MINES REPORTS BAD YEAR

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 5 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by Bapasi Mphusu]

#### [Text]

GABORONE, JUNE 29: The year 1982 is described as having been a mixed one for the mineral sector in Botswana, by the current report of the Department of Mines.

The report reveals that production at the base metal mine at Selebi-Phikwe was maintained at a high level, however, metal prices deteriorated rapidly in the second half of the year causing financial problems for the mine.

In the diamond market, the report says international sales were still at the depressed 1981 levels, but nonetheless were slightly better than forecast at the beginning of the year.

With the commencement of commercial production at Jwaneng Mine, Botswana diamond production reached a record high. As a result of a favourable exchange rate movement, and better than expected diamond sales, overall government revenues were also better than expected.

According to the report, diamond production rose by 56 per cent over 1981 to 7 768 840 carats having an estimated value of P407 million.

The Orapa mine treated a record 7 751 000 tonnes to recover 4 677 111 carats. The recovered grade, the report says declined marginally to 60,3 carats per hundred tonnes.

The Letihakane mine recorded its highest annual diamond recovery of 470 086 carats from

2 247 656 tonnes treated. The recovered grade improved slightly to 20,9 carats per hundred.

On the Jwaneng mine, the report states that the mine was opened in August 1982 and commercial production, which began in June, reached its rated capacity in October. Treatment of 3 330 700 tons yielded 2 621 643 carats for a recovered grade of 78,7 carats per hundred tonnes. Employment in the diamond mines averaged 4 000 for the year.

In base metals, the report states that production on nickel-copper matte at 45 685 tonnes was down slightly from the record 1981 production. Metal prices, however, were severely depressed.

According to the report, prices in the early months of 1982 were considered low, nonetheless in the second half of the year, prices fell rapidly again to levels at which most mining companies could no longer cover their operating costs.

The value of matte production fell accordingly, from P77 million in 1981 to P61 million in 1982.

The report also points out that depressed metal prices in 1981 and forecast poor metal prices in 1982 necessitated the company to make arrangements with its creditors for restructuring of the company debts. This was successfully accomplished in June 1982.

The nickel-copper mine in Selebi-Phikwe is owned by BCL Limited and produces a nickel-copper matte.

Declining metal prices, the report says earned the company operating loss in 1982, which required obtaining further commitments from both government and principal shareholders, to provide for Emergency Funding through 1983.

On coal, the report reveals that the yearly production from the Morupule Colliery increased by nine per cent from 380 698 tonnes to 414 778 tonnes. The sales price increased from P11.22 per tonne in January to P11.44 per tonne in April then increased to P11.38 per tonne in August.

The report also disclosed that a further expansion in mine capacity is being negotiated to supply the needs of a new 90 MW coal fired generating stations being build adjacent to the mine by Botswana Power Corporation.

A joint venture agreement was signed between the government of Botswana and Shell Coal Botswana defining terms and conditions under which a new coal mine would be developed at Kgaswe, in the central district.

"Should the feasibility study now in progress, confirm the economic viability of the project, a major new coal mine will be developed for the export market," said the report. In north east Botswana, BP Botswana holds exploration rights over extensive areas of Sua Pan. For the past two years they have been undertaking various technical and economic studies to assess the extensive brine resources found in that area.

The report explains that the assessment is based on a

production facility that would produce soda ash, solar salt and perhaps potash.

It is also disclosed in the report that there are now four small mines operating in the Francistown area, producing small quantities of gold and silver. These are expected to be more substancial operations in

the following years as the sites become better developed.

Regarding the labour force in the mining sector, the report points out that it grew by 3,2 per cent from 8 546 persons in 1981 to 8 818 persons in 1982.

"At the same time gains were made in localisation as the percentage of expatriates dropped from 8,5% in 1981 to 8,1% in 1982," the report explains.

CSO: 3400/1688

CLANDESTINE RADIO ON FRENCH-U.S. 'INTERVENTION' IN CHAD

LD122353 (Clandestine) Bardai Chadian National Radio in French 1800 GMT 12 Aug 83

[Text] The Franco-American intervention characterized by the sending of foreign troops and men into our country, and seen by certain African countries as (?influenced) by international imperialism, continues to evoke sharp protests by democratic countries and organizations.

Thus in the Soviet Union, the TASS agency and PRAVDA, organ of the CPSU, strongly condemned Franco-American intervention in Chad and American expansionism in Africa.

Vietnam, which has already known the [word indistinct] of American intervention there, has made two protests to condemn this criminal intervention by Western imperialism which is (?aimed) only at perpetuating the genocide of people struggling for their liberation.

China, for its part, has forcefully noted this imperialist [word indistinct], and has called for the immediate withdrawal of the troops of the forces of intervention [words indistinct] that the conflict [words indistinct] of the OAU.

In view of this situation, Chadians residing abroad have not been slow to react. After the demonstration by the Chadian community in Brussels, and [word indistinct] of Chadian students in the FRG to lend their support to the GUNT, a motion was passed to the international press organs by the Association of Chadian [word indistinct to condemn the [words indistinct] of the (?traitor) to the national cause, Hissein Habre, who is directly responsible for the events in 1979 [words indistinct] of the coup d'etat in 1980, which produced thousands of victims, widows and orphans. Hissein Habre (?himself) is the living symbol of the destruction of Chad. [words indistinct] after being conquered and reconquered [word indistinct] by the Chadian people. Hissein Habre was brought to power thanks to a plot (?organized) by the imperialists. Franco-American imperialism is carried out by the (?collaborator) Mobutu Sese Seko and by the francophone states of that region. But, the Association of Chadian Students in the FRG says, the people [word indistinct] said no to the [word indistinct] directed by the White House and carried out by their [words indistinct]. In fact it affirmed that the Chadian people are struggling and will continue to struggle strongly until final victory and concluded:

In view of this situation, we, the students [word indistinct] in the FRG, consider that these imperialist [word indistinct] are aimed at our country and our people; we condemn this Franco-American intervention strongly, we also condemn the intervention of Zairian troops who are allowing themselves to be unconsciously exploited by international imperialism and its local (?slaves) to cut the throats of our people. (?We appeal to) the Francophone (?slaves) of imperialism in Africa not to interfere any longer in the internal affairs of our country. We urge our national liberation army to wage its battle vigorously against the imperialist forces until military victory, and to realize the national goals.

In the same [word indistinct] the movement for the liberation of Central African people lent its support to the GUNT. In a communique made public [word indistinct] in Paris, the (?movement for the Liberation of the Chadian People) affirmed that the Chadian people had become the victim of an international conspiracy by the United States and France, and carried out by Mobutu, the gendarme of imperialism in Central Africa. [words indistinct] the construction of a democratic national and independent regime in Central Africa. It added that the intervention of (?Marshal) Mobutu in Chad was the condition (?laid down) by international imperialism in order to keep him in power in Zaire.

The [word indistinct] of the French Government is to support [words indistinct] for his collaboration with Western imperialism. [words indistinct] which hides the real face of the French Government. Moreover, it launched an appeal to the international community and to the democratic forces throughout the world, and in particular to French public opinion, to condemn the imperialist plot in Chad.

It concludes by expressing the solidarity of the Central African people with the [word indistinct] people of Chad, whose [word indistinct] for their liberation from Western imperialism and from neocolonial exploitation.

CSO: 3419/1152

#### REACTION TO CHEYSSON REMARKS ON CHAD

LD122136 (Clandestine) Bardai Chadian National Radio in French 1800 GMT 12 Aug 83

[Text] Good evening. The Lagos accords put an end to the French military presence in Chad. At that time, Hissein Habre, who was then minister of defense of the GUNT, accepted the Lagos document only grudgingly. Should one be surprised that he is making use of his precarious and illegal presence in Ndjamena to make an appeal to the troops of the former colonial power? This is the same person who, moreover, just recently was claiming to have revolutionary principles. [words indistinct] are completely with the imperialist-reactionary camp.

It is thus that pressured by the American administration and [word indistinct] regimes of (?certain countries) of Africa, the French Government has decided to send a contingent of 200 paratroopers, of which a part has already arrived in Ndjamena.

Announcing this serious decision French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson specified that the paratroopers are [word indistinct] the instruction of what remains of the puppet army, and that they must not, whatever the case, take part in the fighting. Cheysson added [words indistinct] the French soldiers will do everything that the Libyans are doing, except for bombing the civilian population. Is this a provocation, a threat, or a warning? In fact, if the French paratroopers [word indistinct] bomb Chadian civilians, as they give us to understand, what will their attitude be toward the [words indistinct] Inasmuch as French (?officers) remain [word indistinct] on the battlefield, will they not be definitely involved in certain situations? From the moment that French war reporters confirm the nonexistence on the terrain of puppet forces, will their French instructors not be led by the nature of events and of circumstances to take over? As far as concerns the imitation of the Libyans, which Claude Cheysson talks about, has he now [word indistinct | their participation in the fighting? On that point, it cannot be repeated often enough: the presence of Libyans in the ranks of [word indistinct] has not been proven. French journalists have scoured all the liberated sectors without meeting a single Islamic legionnaire. Of course, the French foreign minister has still said nothing about the Zairian troops who are now (?going to) fraternize with the French paratroopers. Some of them have known one another since the [word indistinct] in Shaba, with American, Israeli and other mercenaries. It is clear that there are lots of people in Ndjamena to save the [word indistinct] of Hissein Habre.

Let us return to Claude Cheysson's words: Why does he draw a parallel between France and the Jamahiriyah? To our knowledge, France and the United States are extra-African powers. How can they be concerned to the same extent as the African countries in problems specific to our continent? As for Zaire, it had already sent a [word indistinct]. In (?1982) of soldiers to Chad with the agreement of GUNT and the OAU. But now it is to (?go down on its knees) before the orders of Washington and Paris. What treachery! Zaire, moreover, is not the only one to play the game of Franco-American (?imperialism). Certain states have put their [word indistinct] at the disposal of Western powers as a support position for imperialist aggression in Chad. They will live to regret it!

CSO: 3419/1152

# GUNT STATEMENT REFUTES LIBYAN INTERVENTION

LD131822 Tripoli JANA in English 1740 GMT 13 Aug 83

[Text] Bardai, Dhulqada 5, 13 Aug (JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY)—The legitimate Government of National Unity issued a statement which was broadcast by Radio Bardai this afternoon in which it categorically refuted all allegations broadcast by Ndjamena radio and repeated by imperialist radios concerning alleged Libyan intervention in the fierce fighting between the legitimate government's troops and rebel Habre's forces which led to the fall of Faya Largeau in the hands of the legitimate government.

The statement said that Goukouni's forces besieged Faya Largeau and continued to shell enemy positions using all types of weapons until the fall of the city and total control by the forces of the legitimate government over it. Therefore we declare that Libya was outside this fighting and that all rumours circulated beyond this truth are but fabrications. We also confirm that Habre's forces are helped by Zairean, French, Egyptian and Sudanese forces.

The statement also said that the legitimate government has not requested any help from the friendly countries so far. However, the behavior by some imperialist countries and their support for Habre will force it to do so. The statement further denied allegations concerning Libyan Air Force intervention in Faya Largeau battles stressing that if this was the case the legitimate government's forces which were besieging Faya Largeau would not have escaped from the air raids. Such false allegations are aimed to justifying widescale foreign military intervention in the internal affairs of Chad.

CSO: 3400/1769

### COMMENTARY SUGGESTS COMPLICITY OF U.S., FRANCE

AB112115 (Clandestine) Bardai Chadian National Radio in French 1800 GMT 11 Aug 83

# [Station commentary]

[Text] Is there any complicity between the United States and France in the Chadian conflict? According to the French minister of external relations, France's policy in Chad is not submitted to the U.S. will. All right then. But how can one explain that Washington is actively pressing France to assume its responsibilities in Chad. We would rather say that the two capitals are (?in agreement).

In any case, the forces of the National Liberation Army [ANL] have responded with various types of arms to the aggression by the hordes of Zairians and mercenaries and the puppet army in Faya. Caught up in the intensive heavy artillery shelling of the ANL, the aggressors have appealed for France's intervention to offset the fictitious Libyan bombing.

Immediately the U.S. Government gets in touch with the French capital and a number of allied countries. (?A decision) is made. Anti-aircraft weapons are delivered to the rebels, though their non-African teachers do not take pains in checking the allegations of these strawmen. Is the supply of these (?type) of weapons merely a fortuitous fact?

A few weeks before, in the face of the ANL action in Abeche, France and the United States reacted by supplying tons of weaponry to their protege. Did France and the United States act out of telepathy? And there is more. Mobutu Sese C'est trop [distortion of Seko into C'est Trip--it is too much] sends troops and a small flight of warplanes to Ndjamena. Washington approves of the Zairian move publicly and congratulates the shady author of this move at the White House. The French Government, which promptly denounces and warns Tripoli, remains tight-lipped on and blind to the Zairian armed intervention. It is learned later that half of the funding of Zairian troops in Chad is provided by Washington and the other half by Paris.

We should recall that a few months ago, the FAN was manipulated by their Western masters into filing a complaint against Tripoli at the UN Security

Council. Washington became Chad's lawyer. The French Government did the same. Is this not the evidence of a French-U.S. understanding?

Much more recently, the United States sent two AWACS spy planes escorted by 10 F-15 jetfighters. France did not react. After all those facts, the French diplomat knows who he wanted to persuade by saying that there were no consultations between France and the United States on their policies in Chad.

In an attempt to do well in the Chadian affair, the French and U.S. authorities resort paradoxically to different reasons for their intervention. The Elysee refers to the famous 1976 cooperation accords, which amounts to considering the Lagos accords as null and void. Precisely the Lagos accords hold France responsible for the deadlock in efforts toward national reconciliation in Chad. To the best of our knowledge, the OAU, which was divided in Tripoli over the Chadian issue, has never denounced its resolutions on Chad even though the FAN delegate was admitted at the 19th OAU summit. Better still, the 19th summit executive bureau was duly given the mandate to take care of the Chadian problems and secure reconciliation among the various Chadian factions.

What was France's reaction toward that initiative by the pan-African organization? When the French minister of external relations speaks of the recognition of the Ndjamena dictator, this is not only a hasty and (?biased) interpretation, but also a gross falsification of the Chadian problem by (?forces) extraneous to Chad and Africa. In fact, all military operations which France has undertaken in Chad are grave interferences in our internal affairs and have no legal basis.

With regard to the United States, its attitude is an utter act of international piracy. It has signed no agreement on military cooperation with Chad. There is not even one that has lapsed. Its military intervention in Chad is based on the so-called threat of destabilization which the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah is allegedly posing to Egypt and Sudan. Does Washington forget that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah has common borders with those countries? Does Libya need to go round through Chad in order to threaten Cairo and Khartoum if this was its intention?

We want to take this opportunity to say that Sudan and Egypt are not U.S. colonies. Nor is Chad the protectorate of any country. This is a simple [word indistinct]. In reality, Ronald Reagan (?wants) to establish in Chad a regime devoted to him and to Zionism. He (?is after) the Jamahiriyah and the natural wealth in Chad's soil. To achieve his goal, he wants to rely on France, Zaire, Sudan, Egypt and other African countries. How far will Paris, Kinshasa, Khartoum and Cairo go in agreeing to play into the hands of the United States?

CSO: 3419/1141

#### HISSEIN HABRE NOTES PRESENCE OF FOREIGNERS AMONG REBEL FORCES

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 15 Jul 83 pp II, III

[Interview with President Hissein Habre, by ATP [Chadian Press Agency] and RNT [Chadian National Broadcasting]: date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Mr President, you have been at Biltine since 14 July, and I see before you a wad of dinars and a Libyan Army epaulet. Is that what motivates the mercenaries?

[Answer] Undeniably. What is striking—and this is not the first time we have seen it—is that we notice that the majority of prisoners are carrying bundles of paper dinars. All the time, constantly the prisoners are arriving and when they are searched we find such things as dinars, Libyan identity cards or even extracts from the Green Book. This shows the extent to which Libya is corrupting Chadians and Africans of all different nationalities who are recruited to serve in the Islamic Legion.

[Question] Whereas the FANT [Chadian National Armed Force] is fighting for quite different reasons?

[Answer] That goes without saying. The FANT is defending the independence, the sovereignty and the dignity of the Chadian people. They are struggling to protect and preserve our common heritage, our Fatherland. So there can be no comparison between the fighting spirit of the FANT and that of the mercenaries in the service of Libyan expansionism.

[Question] Getting down to facts, can you say something about the most recent fighting, in particular the fighting at Biltine?

[Answer] Yes. First of all, the fighting started far from the town, at a distance of some 15 kilometers. The FANT pursued the enemy to within 45 or 50 kilometers from Biltine. The enemy was completely routed and fled in disorder in all directions. You have just seen, in fact, that only about 15 minutes ago prisoners were continuing to arrive.

[Question] Mr President, you have said that Chad would fight with or without help from its friends. Are you satisfied with the success of this counter-offensive?

[Answer] The war is not over. We are pleased with the victories that have been won, not only at Biltine but also at Oumchalouba-Kalait and Abeche. But we will not let ourselves get inebriated with our own success, because we know what Libya is up to. According to the most recent reports, a Sudanese contingent just arrived at Faya and is trying to move southward. Therefore we are pleased about the victories that have been won, and we are particularly pleased with the results of the tactics we have adopted since the beginning of the operation, tactics which have been effective. We intend to keep on doing it our way so as to destroy the last remaining elements remaining in the Faya region and headed in our direction.

[Question] A Sudanese contingent? Are you talking about Sudanese dissidents located in Libya?

[Answer] In reality they are Sudanese dissidents who were in Libya and who quite recently landed in Faya Largeau. According to reports, they were not thrilled to come but were finally brought around to do it anyway. Of course, there are other nationalities too. At Biltine, for example, quite a few people were discovered to be carrying UPC [Union of Cameroonian People] cards and FROLICAM [Front for National Liberation of Cameroon] cards. So there are Cameroonians and also Central Africans.

[Question] The FANT has only been in existence since the merger. How would you assess this army's performance?

[Answer] Its performance has been exemplary, particularly considering that our army has unfortunately not had all the resources we wanted it to have. But in spite of that it has performed in exemplary fashion and shown exceptional courage, particularly when every time there is a battle we are stunned by the quantity of heavy weaponry we see at those peoples' disposal. It is incredible, the multitude of big weapons, such as ground-to-ground [missiles], four-barreled artillery, the incredible number of "106's." But despite all this enemy equipment, the FANT has imposed its will, and this because of the human factor, the factor of faith and morality.

[Question] I believe the logistical problems are still not all solved?

[Answer] Far from it, far from it! You yourselves can imagine the problems we are having with respect to heavy transport, spare parts. Most of our vehicles are in more or less poor condition, and in that regard I must say that we are getting no assistance at all, not even with food supplies, and this is very hard.

9516

CSO: 3419/1098

## ROLE OF 'WHITE ADVISERS' IN GOVERNMENT COUNTEROFFENSIVE

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Jul 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] The initial successes of the government's counter-offensive are due to French equipment, but also to a few dozen "white advisers."

Ndjamena—One begins noticing them in a town in which Europeans are no longer very numerous—400 at most. It is apparent that they are neither doctors nor businessmen nor journalists. Two of them went into a hotel to drink a "Gala," the Chadian national beer, which continued to be brewed throughout the progress of the civil war. Their jeep was camouflaged, but the bulges of their revolvers could be seen...

"We would make an alliance with the devil himself if that was what it took to see this business through." This remark by one of President Hissein Habre's confidants at the onset of the rebel offensive led by former President Goukouni Oueddei in the eastern section of the country, explains the presence of those somewhat incongruous whites. The minister of information, Mr Soumaila, was just as transparent in his remarks of Monday 18 July: "We can call on friendly countries, but we may also be helped by private individuals who have the ability to aid us," he stated.

The "white advisers" are divided into two quite distinct groups: first of all, there are the "plainclothes technicians" of the action arm of the General Directorate for External Security (DGSE), the former SDECE [External Intelligence and Counter-Espionage Service]. Command by a colonel, they are responsible only to their French superiors and are not integrated into the Chadian forces, whose uniform they never wear. They are responsible for receiving the materiel sent from Paris, particularly the light armored cars (AML's) which have played a decisive role in the government counteroffensive, and for training the Chadian soldiers to operate them. Theoretically they are not authorized to travel outside Ndjamena, but they allow themselves to bend the rules somewhat in order to accompany the materiel dispatched by plane from the capital city to Abeche or Biltine in the eastern part of the country. So they can be seen aboard the Chadian Air Force's old DC-3's and DC-4's, as well as the two big Hercules C-130 transports "loaned" to the Ndjamena authorities -- one by Zaire, the other by a private commercial enterprise which specialized in delivery of arms and munitions.

These "technicians" have for the most part been trained at the DGSE action arm's training camp at Cercottes, near Orleans. Young, disciplined and taciturn, they are easy to distinguish from the twenty or so mercenaries the Chadians recruited directly in France and Belgium. Probably because of insufficient means, Ndjamena has not picked the best international mercenaries that money could buy. Some of them are pushing close to fifty, and a pot-bellied fifty at that: they do not cut dashing figures, despite their khaki shorts and bush hats. One of them—his companions call him "E.T."—claims to come from the Comoros, which are still ruled by the famous Bob Denard. He has not yet figured out the meaning of his nickname.

Some of these mercenaries sport the most improbable-looking helmets from the colonial era that are no longer seen in Africa. These cast-off trappings do not prevent them from playing an important role in President Hissein Habre's forces. They know, for example, how to repair a disabled AML, and they can teach the soldiers how to use some of the weapons. Indeed, their very presence reportedly has a reassuring effect on the troops...

The DGSE "technicians" do not participate directly in the fighting. They were not seen in Abeche, for example, until after the city was recaptured on Tuesday 12 July. The role of the "contractors," as the mercenaries are euphemistically called, is less clear. One rumor has it that they took delivery of some Milan anti-tank rockets. That would be a strange way to use such an extremely expensive weapon, one which is too powerful to be employed in the skirmishes between light vehicles that have characterized the fighting up to this point. Some of those men have been seen armed with American M-16 assault rifles, which seems to indicate that they sometimes do more than simply repair equipment and instruct the troops.

9516

CSO: 3419/1102

CONGO

#### BRIEFS

PRISON SENTENCES COMMUTED—Brazzaville, Aug 15 (AFP)—Prison sentences for common law criminals in Congo have been commuted to mark the 20th anniversary of the revolution, the president's office announced Sunday. Life sentences with hard labor have been cut to 30 years. Ten years have been deducted from 20-30 year sentences. Ten to 20 year terms are halved. There is complete remission for prisoners who have served half of one to 19 year sentences, and for those jailed for less than a year. But the president's office also said two former army officers, a captain and a lieutenant, had been put under house arrest in the northern Owando District. It gave no details. The presidential decree did not specify how many prisoners would benefit. It said foreigners in jail would have their sentences quashed and would be expelled from the country. [Text] [AB150720 Paris AFP in English 0714 GMT 15 Aug 83]

FORMER MINISTER OF FINANCE VIEWS CONSTITUTION

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 27 Jan 83 p 4

[Article by Ellen Johnson Sirleaf: "A Woman's View on the Constitution"]

[Text]

I had planned to discuss my views on the Draft Constitution with the Bomi Hills Constitutional Advisory Assembly Representatives during my next visit home but your editorial of June 17 (A Breakthrough) by which you challenged Liberian women to speak out, cannot go unanswered. I am thus summarizing my views, essentially on those provisions on which I differ with the Draft Articles.

I also wish through this public manner to commend the Chairman and Members of the Constitution Commission for a job well done and to congratulate the Chairman and Members of the PRC for their acceptance of the draft, thereby paving the way for unprecedented democratization of the Liberian political system.

## Article 22(a)

The limitation of real property ownership to the Liberian citizens is unduly restrictive and an impediment to the many non citizens who are able and willing to invest in the development of Liberia. It is unlikely that the long term lease system which prevailed in the past is an acceptable substitute for the bonafide

investor. In addition, judging from the poor quality and limited life structures which evolved, our experience with the leasehold system is, to say the least, disappointing.

## Article 27(b)

I realize that I may well be going against traditional public sentiment on this controversial issue, but I do believe that Liberians have outgrown the protection afforded by this discriminatory provision.

Article 28

In my view, a Liberian citizen should never be decitizenized — once a Liberian, always a Liberian. This is consistent with the principles of Article 29(b) which unfortunately favors only women.

#### Article 30

The same as my view on the right of perpetual citizenship except for (d) which deals with nationalization obtained through fraud, deception or illegal-improper practices.

### Article 48

The division of senators, into two classes by means of drawing lots could lead to unfair or charges of unfair practices. Could not elections be staggered to achieve the desired continuity?

## Article 57

Each political subdivision should be vested with the right to choose directly their front line leader or administrator, thereby minimizing the excesses and abuses which occurred in the past when they served as a

representative or appointee of the President. Thus, superintendents should be elected. This need not negate the screening by the committee of county leaders who could qualify a short list of those eligible to stand.

## Article 60

A question here: does this imply legislative approval by means other than required by article 36(f)? If not, it is an unnecessary duplication which introduces thoughts of varying interpretation.

Article 60 under Executive states: "The President shall have the power to conduct the foreign affairs of the Republic and in that connection he is empowered to conclude treaties, conventions and similar international agreements with the concurrence of a majority of each house of the Legislature".

## Article 37(f)

Under the Legislature, states: "The Legislature shall have the power to approve treaties, conventions and such other international agreements negotiated or signed on behalf of the Republic...".

### Article 71-72

The provisions on qualification (e.g...one who has taught at an accredited law school for a period of three years", seem unduly detailed for a constitution. These could well be establish-

ed by the judicial service commission as (it is) enabled under the constitution.

#### Article 84-85

Again, detailed for a constitution and unduly restrictive on business organizations and trade unions which should have the right to support the candidate of their choice in keeping with relevant statutes or regulations.

If this provision is meant to deny unfair advantage to a prominent business person or trade union leader or, for that matter to an incumbent president or Head of State, we might consider an alternative provision which limits the amount of campaign funds (to say \$50,000) and, more importantly, has this provided through budgetary appropriation. Thus all candidates, rich or poor, powerful or no, would have the same amount to spend without recourse to contributions by individuals and-or entities. This would also make the provisions of 85(b) more credible and enforceable.

### Article 101

As in the case of 84-85 supra, the qualifications for an auditor general need not be spelt out in the constitution but by the public service commission as empowered by the constitution under Article 94. This would minimize the chances of appointing an

unqualified person who has been able to obtain certification by local institutional procedures which may not conform either to national standards or international requirements and practices.

#### Article 104

The Ombudsman Commission appears to have dubious authority, duplicative functions and of potential nuisance-abusive practices. In my view it represents an unnecessary public expense. The Constitution itself, the statutes to enacted bv the Legislature, the courts, and the other Commissions provided under the Constitution would seem to carry adequate safeguards of citizens' rights, privileges and responsibilities.

In closing, Mr. Editor, I would like to agree wholeheartedly with you and the many others who feel that the Liberian people will be prepared to contribute, each according to his means, to ensure an orderly and timely transition to a popularly elected civilian government. In so doing, we would meet our national responsibility as the PRC has met theirs in bringing us to this point of progressing.

Long live Liberia and the first opportunity to exercise a franchise so long denied. May that right never again be compromised.

Mrs. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, one of Liberia's most outstanding economists, is currently a vice president of Citibank, serving at its Africa headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya. Following the April 12 coup, she was appointed president of the Liberia Bank for Development and Investment (LBDI). She later rejoined the staff of the World Bank before taking up the Citibank appointment.

### REDRAFT OF CONTROVERSIAL CONSTITUTION URGED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 20 Jan 83 p 4

[Article by Newspaper George: "Who Are Real Citizens of Liberia in Body Politic?"]

[Text]

Before coming to the question propounded, let us once more view the power of struggle that confronts the public in preparing the Draft Constitution:

- 1. After the April 12 (1980) coup when the True Whig Party and its corrupt government of William Tolbert were overthrown and the former constitution of the nation banned, the Head of State and Chairman of the PRC set up a Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Amos Sawyer to draft a new constitution for the people to form basic laws for the future civilian Government.
- 2. Dr. Sawyer and his Commission are supposed to serve the public as their secretaries and not bosses on the constitutional issues; and, therefore, what they write must be what the people want them to write; and not what they feel like putting on the paper.
- 3. Thus, when the document was presented to Dr. Doe and the PRC, the Government referred it to the

- people to examine all the points in order to know whether they are suitable to our national and individual problems on democratic lines. Hence, the document was printed and circulated to the people for public debate between them and the Commission.
  - 4. The debate has been going on, and most of the points put in the new draft are known to be rejectable to the public, as members of the Commission to whom questions have been propounded merely rationalized or evade giving positive response on points raised.
- 5. The debate goes on between the people and the Commissioners without neutral party as judges to show who is right or wrong, when the various arguments, both oral and written, are investigated.

Now in the draft constitution itself:

- 6. The document seems more foreign than national in that:
- a. In the Preamble, it does not show definitely who fall under different categories as citizens of Liberia. Instead, there is a sentence written in a sort of a worded hieroglyph, thus:

"We, the people of the Republic of Liberia, recognizing from many experiences during the course of our national existence that all of our people, irrespective of their history, traditional or ethnic background, are part of one common body politic".

This sentence and other descriptions of Liberian citizenry written elsewhere in the draft failed to mention the tribal citizens of the nation; and thus coincide with the banned constitution which intentionally

omitted mentioning the natives also.

By the way, to be accepted, the draft Preamble, in describing those in the nation's one common body politic, should say:

"We, the people of the Republic of Liberia, are descendants of the ancient, ethnic groups who originally inhabited the regions of the nation together with the posterity of the pioneer immigrants from America along with other Africans that later migrated here from far and near".

- b. The writers of the draft wrote it as though the document were the nation's first constitution; because they failed to state what happened that necessitated composition of another constitution.
- c. Who told them to write the draft, and as the document was the result of national confusion and chaos that cause the former government to be overthrown and its constitution banned, who all were the aggressive and defensive parties - all of which are demonstrated or clearly stated in the constitution of the Great United States - likewise in the constitution of the pioneers which surely mentioned the same kind of occasion and grievancy against their racist masters in the United States.
- d. One may say that the reason is for compromise and national reconciliation or com-

promise that conceals the truth in matter is actually not justifiable to the defensive or aggressive side that wins or loses. History of the case must become outstanding and clear.

## **Creating Jobs**

- 7. The writers are all full of assumptions with interest in creating jobs which are not necessary for the peace and security of the people, for example:
- a. The Public Service Commission to meddle with the jobs in the Civil Service Compact is not necessary.
- b. The Judicial Service Agency to control the Chief Justice and all the judges of the nation, and also to reduce the rights and privileges of the National Bar Association should not be regarded by the people.
- c. The Auditor General of the nation being politically annointed and put over the nation's Chief Executive (impliedly) is not necessary.
- d. The Ombudsman Commission officials to control and prosecute the President himself may likely create inevitable trouble.

The Constitutional Draft is a mushroom paper to fall into oblivion soon, because it has no vitality to keep up the nation without another tragedy in the future. Therefore, since the people themselves are electing their

own men and women to scrutinize it, let Dr. Sawyer and his people (who already seem to fail at their attempt) reserve their further efforts, and give the Constitutional Advisory Commission chance to do their work without further embarrassment.

Liberian people are used to carrying their burdens to their leaders, especially the Chief Executive of the nation, when the big ministers, the professors of the universities, the Members of the Legislature, and when all other dignitaries or rich people, fail in answering questions about the people's problems. Dr. Doe who got in the Executive Mansion vesterday is common example. He is now the only man trying to solve problems of personal nature for both big and small, official or private, rich or poor, that no one else is willing (though abie) to solve.

In conclusion, besides the examples of good Preamble in the Constitutions of the Americans, the one in the banned constitution and the pamphlets on the philosophy of the Master-Sergeant, written in June, 1981, and circulated by the Ministry of Information, R.L., the members of the Constitutional Advisory Committee going to Gbarnga should make additional research, and redraft a document that will be acceptable to the Liberian people in it sentirety.

# CONSTITUTION CITIZENSHIP CLAUSE DISCUSSED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 28 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Capt Dexter B. Tanyor: "To Be Citizen, One Must Be Black"]

[Text]

The headline, "To be citizen, one must be black", suggests that this article supports the citizenship clause maintained by the old Constitution. I am appealing to my fellow Liberians not to bother it. Let the new Constitution, be nade to maintain the same restriction; "only blacks or persons of black descent shall be eligible to become citizens of Liberia.

Some say the restriction of citizenship will not encourage fast development. Others say it is not consistent with the nation position against racism. On the contrary, this serves as a barrier against wealthy non-black people who dream of suppressing black people everywhere. I shall explain why.

To begin with, let me caution that we should not change our Constitution simply by immitating what we see other African countries have in their Constitutions. Any nation's constitution reflects the background, struggle and aspirations of the people of that nation. And it is against this background that policies are perfected.

What I am trying to say is that we should take our history into consideration before making changes in our law. Unlike other African countries which gained their independence simply through political processes, Liberia was set, up originally, by returned freed slaves who were subdued by white masters for many years.

Their main aim for coming here in those difficult days was to find a free place to live peacefully. They were tired with slavery. They were also well experienced about the peculiar racial thought of the white skinned in considering the human grade of the black skinned.

So in the constitution they drafted to govern this country and secure its citizens from further molestation, the pioneers categorically excluded the white or red or

yellow people from becoming elements of this free black soil.

They knew that these white people at times suppress by force. They do so only because they felt that the blacks can not do any thing about it. Today the white of South Africa do know that we (black and white peoples) were equally created, but they segregate because we can not challenge them. So it was for the fear of forceful suppression that the pioneers banned them from admission to citizenship.

Viewing the past situation from this distance of age, we may think that those conditions which made slavery possible in those days could no longer recur today. But that is an illusion since there are such forces acting in different forms of Africa. Let us ask ourselves if we bring these non-black people in, will there be no internal racial segregation or suppression.

There will be problems for Liberians in future if we admit white or yellow races into our citizenship at this stage of our under development. These problems may include (a) Racial (b) socio-economic and (c) political.

Racial

From our experience with small-scale segregation practiced by some non-black elements residing in Liberia today, we can calculate what may possibly happen if we make them citizens. In the defunct regime particularly, there were evidences of segregative offenses on Liberians by Lebanese. The Gberi death case of 1979 and several others are some typical examples. Liberians have also observed that Lebanese males intercourse and have children by Liberian females. This also reflects other races who share the same idea; particularly in South Africa. So now we can understand that Liberia's position is a matter of security instead of discrimination. Though it is a fact that those to come will contribute to nation building, but the human-to-human aspects is more important.

In' addition, let's remember the class segregation and power domination which existed in Liberia before 1980. This conflict

has just ended and we are celebrating April 12 as National Redemption Day. This shows that Liberians who have just been redeemed needed reconstruction and re-adjustment first before they think of any other innovation like bringing some more people again.

The Constitution should not therefore focus on inviting another potential suppresive forces who may, though develop the country physically, but subsequently plunge us in another political struggle in future. Rather, we should now look at the devastating political, economic and cultural machineries and try to improve them. If we have recovered from the ills of economic or educational backwardness, then we shall see if it should be necessary to admit non-blacks into citizenship.

#### Socio-Economic

Based upon the present level of education and income, an average Liberian is incapable of competing. By competing I mean, playing part in the use of nation's resources in the form of investment or large scale business undertaking. In addition to this, the present poor living standard and power of income grounded on low education of the Liberian now will surely keep him below the standard of his admitted counterpart, and where there is unequal living standards between two groups of peoples in one society, the superior naturally tends to dictate the inferior.

### **Political**

The old saying that, "When you get the heart, don't be afraid of the body" is a practical truth about human nature. When a man has been so indebted to another, he appears to behave obsecuous or say, inferior to that person. So when we Liberians are mixed with people who can do everything we can not do for ourselves and the State including our own living means, the most capable friends will certainly have influence on the Nation's Politics. They will soon turn to penetrate and rule the indigenous black African citizens here.

And that may become another task for freedom fighters in future. We see that conflict is all around the world and people in the Middle East are fighting wars. So today many non-black peoples want new homes. If we allow non-black races to become citizens at this period when we are under educated, they will control our freedom and politics.

3400/1684 CSO:

#### FOUR-YEAR PRESIDENTIAL TERM DISCUSSED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 30 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Le Roy Z. Boikai: "Should the Term of Office of a President Be Four Years?"]

[Text]

As I study the article on the term of office of the president in the proposed new constitution for Liberia, I can easily predict some of the issues that were foremost on the minds of the drafters when they limited the term of office to four years with a possibility of re-election for only another four-year term.

The manipulation of our sacred laws - the constitution - through amendments by our two most immediate past leaders to entrench themselves in office is one clear justification for ensuring in this new constitution that no single individual keeps himself in power for as long as he desires. I share the concerns and sentiments of the drafters and support their provision of certain safeguards against these unwholesome practices.

I presume almost all Liberians are also in support of the very significant safeguards provided in the constitution that would guard against an evall-powerful" president as we have experienced in our immediate past.

As a citizen, I support a limitation to the term of office of a president. However, as 1 ponder the four-year term provision in the constitution, there seem to be greater implications to this provision than meet the eyes.

To say that a president is elected for a four—year term after which he can only be reelected for a second term of four years until after the lapse of another term means, to me, that there would be election after every four years and that technically, an encumbent actually has only a four-year stay in office. He may or may not be reelected.

Let's try to examine some of the ramifications of this four-year term of office of a president. First, politicking

could be intensified to the point where the Liberian people will be served with large doses of propaganda from the ruling as well as the opposition parties. From the start of a new term to its end there will be politicking as usual. The opposition will try to inform on the real shortcomings and inadequacies of the ruling party as well as provide some false and exaggerated information which could only lead to tension. On the other hand, we could experience the ruling party accusing its opposition for undermining its operations and shifting blames for its mistakes and blunders. With this kind of situation, the long arm of government could then be effectively used to either intimidate, silence,

or destroy the political chances of opposition members.

## Experience

Secondly, experience has shown that maintaining a political party and running campaigns in particular is a very expensive undertaking. If elections are held so often — every four years — one wonders how the various parties will find the means to finance these campaigns. One possibility could be by taxation of members and the adoption of stiff collection measures.

The ruling party could even use government funds and-or facilities to subsidize its means if its budget target cannot be realized through other means. Its members in government service could even be forced to pay a month's salary as party dues thereby returning the country to similar practices of the past where citizens were forced to pay dues to a political party.

# **Negative Impact**

Thirdly, this short term of a president could have some

negative social impacts on our society. The president and his appointed officials who feel that they possibly have only four years in office could very quickly turn their energies toward amassing illegal wealth so that they don't leave office as the losers. This selfish and corrupt attitude could have the effect of seriously eroding our value system and our norms. The young people could be made to feel that government positions are there to make people rich over night through illegal means.

The social vice of 'heart men' which has been a part of our political culture for some time now could become very rampant throughout Liberia as those interested in either maintaining their posts or getting new and higher ones would resort to it more often due to the frequent change of government. This could bring untold sorrow to many families.

Finally, I am just now sure whether Liberia, with such a small population, a sagging economy, and a fairly high rate of illiteracy which limits its pool of unqualified manpower, can muster the 
political will and maturity, 
and the economic and manpower resources to uphold 
and maintain the principle of 
a four-year presidential term 
of office.

Infact, four years for a new president is relatively short to accomplish very much. It could take one to two years just to get adjusted and design policies for implementation. We should consider also that international donors require a certain degree of stability in a country for sustained assistance and support.

We could consider some alternatives to this provision. One of such alternatives that could have the effect of putting less political, economic, and social strains on us is to consider making the term of office of any new president six years and a second term of six years if elected, and no more thereafter. There are others which need to be examined, with an aim of deciding what is best for us.

CSO: 3400/1684

CONSTRAINTS ON GROWTH OF INDIGENOUS BUSINESS DISCUSSED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 15 Jun 83 pp 9-10

[Article by David K. Vinton: "The Constraints to the Development of Indigenous Liberian Enterprises"]

[Text]

For many years now in Liberia, one question which has often been asked by many persons is "why are there not many indigenous Liberian businesses?" Indigenous meaning businesses wholly owned and managed by Liberians. Many find the answer to be the lack of finance; and the commercial banks as well as the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment for which I work, have been objects of strong criticism for being insensitive to the only problem, as thought by many, of the indigenous Liberian entrepreneurs.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to look into the extent to which Liberians have entered the private sector of commerce and industry as entrepreneurs.

It seeks to identify some of the obstacles to successful Liberian entrepreneurship as well as to recommend possible ways by which the Liberian Government and other private institutions which may be involved in the promotion of Liberian enterprises, can assist in the development of indigenous Liberian entrepreneurship.

Against the background discussed in this paper, it appears unlikely that the commercial banks will play any meaningful role in the development of indigenous Liberian enterprises because of their relatively high risk contents. Also, because the

commercial banks are still expatriate controlled and concentrate their activities in Monrovia, they are unable to afford specialized staff which would be required to increase their lending to Liberian entrepreneurs.

The Liberian Bank for Development and Investment, as a development catalyst, is committed to assume a greater degree of risk more than would be acceptable to institutions engaged in short-term financing. However, the Bank uses funds borrowed from foreign financing institutions to assist enterprises in Liberia. It therefore has to maintain its viability and credit worthiness at the same time.

\* The paper starts by looking at the current state of indigenous Liberian enterprises, followed by their problems and finally concludes with recommendations.

The views expressed in this paper are entirely mine and may not coincide with others. It is therefore hoped that the reader will be conscious of this.

Finally, the paper may appear to lay blame on Liberian entrepreneurs. This certainly is not the intent of the paper. Its intent is simply to point out the obstacles to successful Liberian entrepreneurship. The reader should therefore beware of this.

Indigenous Liberian Enterprises

In Liberia today, most business enterprises, with the exception of Government-controlled enterprises and real estate, are owned and controlled by aliens. It is not uncommon to find in the remote villages of Liberia, Lebanese and Asian merchants. This, however, is not to say that Liberia has no indigenous entrepreneurial tradition. For many years she remained an isolated country on the West African Coast, having gained her independence in 1847. She was virtually unknown to the rest of the world until the beginning of the twentieth century. Hence, prior to that time, history reveals that commerce was controlled by Liberians.

Since the 1940's, however, the situation has changed drastically, especially with the declaration of the "Open Door Policy" by the Tubman administration which was intended to encourage the flow of private foreign capital into Liberia.

The declaration of the Open Door Policy saw Liberian businesses being overshadowed by the incursion of aliens, mostly Lebanese, and recently Asians (late 1950's and early 1960's) into Liberia. Hence, outside of agriculture and real estate, what is considered the modern private sector in Liberia today has almost everywhere been developed by foreigners.

This alien domination of commerce and industry in the country is so complete that there are very few Liberian-owned private businesses whose individual operations make any significant contribution to national product. There are hardly any adequate statistical references regarding indigenous Liberian enterprises which are compiled on a comprehensive basis, except for information needed by the Ministry of Commerce Industry and Transportation for the issuance of licenses.

It will be relevant to mention here that if one includes the many Liberians, mainly farmers, who engage in some form of craft or service activity on a part-time basis, there are many more Liberian businessmen engaged in a wide range of activities than is otherwise recognized. Although most of these enterprises are very small and are beyond any conceivable program to assist them directly, it should be appreciated that they fulfill a very important role in bridging the gap between the traditional and modern sectors.

However, because of the illdefined nature of this area, it has been excluded from this paper. The importance of these very small entrepreneurial activities, on the other hand, cannot be overlooked as they are important in themselves as a breeding ground for large scale entrepreneurship and also because, particularly in the rural areas, they can make an important contribution to improve living standard among subsistence farmers for whom they provide an incentive for cash crop production.

## Problems Of Indigenous Entrepreneurs

It is popularly believed in Liberia that the limiting factor in the development of indigenous Liberian enterprises is finance. This is not necessarily true. While funds are a major contributor to the development of any private enterprise, there are other factors of equal importance.

One of these, in my opinion, is the presence of mature entrepreneurship. A major problem encountered by indigenous private enterprises in Liberia is to identify would-be entrepreneurs. For any country to be self-supporting, it must have an adequate reservoir of men who have the judgment, initiative, courage and determination to conceive and launch new enterprises, as well as managers who will run those enterprises and ensure that they are economically successful.

Such entrepreneurship as does exist in the country has been imitative rather than innovative; though some exceptional indigenous Liberian entrepreneurs have been very successful indeed. By innovational entrepreneurship, I mean the activities necessary to create an enterprise where not all the markets are well established and clearly defined andor in which the relevant parts of the production function are not completely known.

In both the routine and innovative cases, the entrepreneur coordinates activities that involve different markets — he is an intermarket operator. However, in the case of innovative entrepreneurship, not all the markets exist or operate perfectly and the entrepreneur, if he is to be

successful; must fill in for the market dificiencies. As a result of the lack of innovative entrepreneurship, another bottleneck to the development of indigenous Liberian enterprises is the absence of projects which are sufficiently advanced conceptually to warrant investment consideration.

Until recently, our system of education and training did not serve the country's need to the development of indigenous entrepreneurship. The system, having been introduced by mostly missionaries, emphasized literacy and religion; and although school curricula and methods of teaching are now being given a more practical orientation, such education is primarily to serve the needs of the government and large expatriate companies.

Closely related to the above is the fact that employment in the civil services the professions and political careers are given greater prestige in Liberia than entrepreneurable. In fact, for many years it was a popular belief that business was for those with no formal education. The foregoing has definitely influenced the availability of indigenous Liberian entrepreneurs.

Yet another problem of the indigenous Liberian businessman is internal management; perhaps the most crucial problem. Most indigenous private enterprises in the country are conducted in an informai manner: informal meaning the owner or owners of businesses have government or other jobs in addition to their businesses. They keep no records (financial) of their business activities and the formal approach to the management of the enterprises is lacking. In most cases, as their businesses grow to any size, they tend to meet a ceiling where their desire to maintain direct supervision over every aspect of their business. their failure to delegate any significant responsibilities to their subordinates and their reluctance to form partnership effectively light their further expansion. They also come under increasing personal stress at this stage. It is not uncommon therefore that when they seem in need of money they often also need to review their system of management. It is also an unfortunate truth

that most Liberians have a reputation for being slow to service and repay their debts.

Hence, from the foregoing, it is obvious that finance is not the crucial constraint to the development of indigenous Liberian enterprises. To put it first is like putting ertilizer on bad soil. For the fertilizer to be effective, the soil must be relatively good soil. The effectiveness of finance to the development of indigenous Liberian enterprises can therefore be frustrated by the lack of commercial and technical expertise which, in my opinion, are the major constraints to the development of indigenous Liberian enterprises.

## Conclusion and Recommendations

The most obvious conclusions that can be drawn from the foregoing is that there is assacute need to assist indigenous Liberian entrepreneurs. Such assistance program, however, must be tailored to the political and other realities of the Liberian environment. It must also be planned and administered within the context of the development policy of the Liberian Government.

It follows then that any activebusiness promotion program initiated by the government should aim first of all at providing an adequate "entrepreneurship education" or training. This is an essential factor both as means of employment generation and a means of encouraging economic growth.

The training program for entrepreneurs should emphasize four areas, namely, psychological training, training in enterprise building skills, training in managerial skills, and special training for trainers.

The business promotion program should also be able to help identify promising areas of entrepreneurial activities and to advise on the planning and implementation of particular projects whether they involve the expansion of existing businesses or the establishment of new ones. Finally there should be some following in order to help the entrepreneur applying this training to his individual problems.

This brings me to my second recommendation. In 1971, when the present administration in Liberia took over the reigns of Government, it instituted a number of business promotion programs aimed at assisting existing indigenous Liberian entrepreneurs as well as encouraging more Liberians to go into business. One of these programs was

a discriminatory measure against alien entrepreneurs whereby certain businesses were reserved exclusively for Liberians.

This measure, unfortunately, has not been effective. The reason for its failure lies in the fact that there is no adequate information about the scale and nature of existing Liberian businesses. The measure was a blanket one which failed to identify areas of activities to be encouraged.

Hence, for such a business promotion scheme to be successful, there should be some ground for believing that Liberian entrepreneurs are capable of taking advantage of opportunities created for them.

Any realistic business promotion scheme in Liberia needs to have a coordinated range of inputs and services, including various forms of managerial and technical assistance or consultancy, and probably finance; but only when the individual entrepreneur is capable of benefiting from it.

Finally, those agencies of government which are charged with the responsibility of existing business promotion schemes should perhaps review their performances to see what new methods they need to adopt.

## DRAFTING OF COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT PLAN URGED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 8 Jul 83 p 8

[Article by Melvin J. Dennis: "Towards a New National Program of Action"]

[Text]

The Minister of Finance has described the year 1983 as "the Year of Rigid Tax Collection". This appears to be the first step in bringing our country out of its present huge financial squeeze. Minister Jones and his team of hardworking people must be commended for their effort. Indeed those who owe government must be made to pay, come what may.

1983 has also shown that it is a year of sacrifices. Government has initiated a new salary scheme, imposed several restrictions on expenditures and introduced its own costsaving measures. Trans-national companies have also introduced major redundancy exercises.

When one closely analyses these measures, one will be able to see that these are only short term solutions to a long term problem. Therefore while these measures will or could be successful in the short run, there is a need for a long term program of action.

A one time deputy minister of commerce said that public finance in Liberia which is the largest and to which the economy of the country is tied is based on too many "IFs". We say things like if Wofogizi comes, if the pricesof iron ore and rubber go up, if the US dollar regains its lost value, if oil prices stabilize, if the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (the western world's financial gerderme marie) lend us; then we will do this and that.

These "ifs" are variables over which we as a nation and a people have little or no control. We do not determine our raw materials' prices, we do not have oil nor are we a major shareholder in the IMF. What is required then is a new kind of program of action.

If we seriously study the problem, we could be able to see that the sacrifices that we ought to be making will not only concern themselves with dollars and cents but would depend to a larger extent on how we as a people conduct ourselves and relate to one another.

## X-Ray of Society

Silv

Double digit inflation and unemployment are fast reaching crisis, proportion and therefore we should be dealing with the swamp that breeds the mosquito and not spend our limited funds on insecticides. We could begin by looking at the causes of urban migration, the drop in the level of food production, the erosion of efficiency and output in our public and private institutions and organizations, mass failures in our schools and universities and the general lack of self initiative and innovation.

Some people are already saying that these are all results of the present economic trend so they need an economic solution but we do not think this is so. Since the early seventies, market forces in the world far beyond our own power to control or influence have gradually shifted against us. The present glut of oil on the world market precipitated by the apparent disarray in OPEC coupled with the disagreement amongst industrial nations over the fixing of raw and finished material prices appear to worsen our fear that prices are in for some inconsistencies.

To make matters worse and contrary to our traditional belief that everyone is his brother's keeper which even in this 21st century, can be seen in the form of government providing or being looked to provide the basic needs of its people, we see the president of the world's greatest economic nation bellowing to the countries of the Third World to turn or return to the "magic of the marketplace".

What Mr. Ronald Reagan is telling us is that we should jump from the frying pan into the fire; asking us to turn to the same market forces which got us to where we find ourselves today. It is like telling an already wounded sheep to go to the hungry wolf for treatment. If we subject Mr. Reagan's view to scientific analysis, it will amount to nothing more than a merry-go-round of inconsistencies and impossibilities.

But let us leave Ronald to wollow in his own fantasy because he has never been to the real Africa where there are no "marketplaces" much less talk about their "magie". No wonder the United States has its largest trade deficit in this period. The Spirit of the Cancum has flundered and Williamsburg won't do any better.

The economies of the western industrial nations are experiencing negative growth and development. Unemployment, inflation and recession, something which Paul Samuelson and Milton Friedman said were hard to come by or could be controlled in a free enterprise economy with prices as the single determining factor in influencing market forces and production, are now seriously affecting the western economies and even threatening to bring them and their civilization to a halt. But let us leave them and come back home. The point being made here is to show that it is more than dollars and cents that we have to deal with. We are talking about the social and moral fibre of our nation.

We would suggest that we first of all look at ourselves, us. We should begin by asking ourselves some soul searching questions; What's wrong with us? How did we get where we are? Where are we going or want to go? Are we here because we lack a sense of national pride, direction? Do we possess a distorted sense of value? Is it that we expect others to do for us those things we should be doing for ourselves? Indeed what is our problem? Once we identify our problem, we can then find its solution.

#### Nation-Wide Study

Government could start by undertaking a "bottom-to-top" study of the people; their needs, aspirations and readily available contributions. This study could begin at the village level by asking the peasant farmer, his wives and older children what their needs are and what assistance they could give if government provided certain basic needs.

The study could then move on to the city, factories, schools, churches and all spheres where people live and work. Government need not send people all over the country. Monrovia is an exact reflection of the entire nation and it should suffice. The problems of the peasant farmer and his family in Paynesville are similar to those of the one in Whoyah-Barobo, Maryland County while the conditions and needs of the slum dweller in Slipway are no different from his friend in Unification Camp Four in Nimba County.

From the information gathered, government could draw up a comprehensive development plan in which the people had had an input, one which should take into consideration the people's standard and cost of living. Government could then be providing what the people want and not what those ivory tower, red-wood pipe smoking experts and consultants think the people need.

The present Redemption Hospital in New Kru Town is a classic example of this boardroom planning exercise. The people of New Kru Town wanted a hospital but instead got a market which later had to be altered into a hospital. If the people of Kru Town were consulted, the market was never going to be built in the first place. This bottom to top approach to development could prevent the construction of schools, where clinics are needed, markets where toilet and pipe-borne water is a necessity and a "modern science center" where a chain of small elementary schools would be highly appreciated.

Now what about us as a people and how do we get out of these problems without looking to variables over which we have no control, Wologizi to come or the IMF to bring her millions and her restrictions? We should first deal with our own crisis of confidence. Liberians do not generally, whether we like it or not, have confidence in themselves nor do they trust their institutions and organizations.

For us, whatever is foreign is best and you name it. A visit to institutions and organizations that were yesterday run by foreigners and are today handled by Liberians will give you a major heart-attack from the things people (Liberians) will say. You hear "before, everything was just fine but as soon as the Liberians took over things began to decline". Imagine a Liberian telling other Liberians that the Liberians are lazy and are nothing but big cons and they all laugh their hearts out.

What we have observed is that there is a lack of national pride, a national value system, national direction and purpose which all stems from a lack of national discipline. It is national discipline that allows a people to share their common problems and avoid washing their dirty clothes in front of the whole world.

A disciplined people do not gossip and tell lies between and amongst each other. It is an indisciplined society that is soon to split asunder because its people are too materialistic and exhibit varying forms of moral and spiritual bankruptcy.

It is "I, me and myself society". It is an indisciplined society where the young and able bodied leaves for the city after being attracted by its neon in search of job for which he has no skill. An indisciplined society does not take stock of its achievements and failures but lives today as if there is no tomorrow.

It is an indisciplined society that allows a man who cannot afford to spend his hard earned salary on anything other than food and shelter but decides to change his check into coins and dump them all in a slot machine at Monte Carlo and Hotel Africa while bragging "I have but one life to live and shall pass through this place but once so let me drink, spend and be merry for I shall not pass this way again. The struggle continues".

It is an indisciplined society where the children are free to set their own standard of "good and bad" and parents are nothing more than spectators — so close yet so far.

We are supposed to be going through a revolution but we still see a lack of revolutionary discipline on the part of us as a people. So if we develop national discipline, trust and confidence in one another, national pride, and a new sense of values, change our taste from foreign goods and items, then we can begin to care less whether Wologizi comes or stays, whether the IMF comes with her million and her deadly restrictions or whether the oil shieks vacilate hers, there or yonder because whatever they do or do not do, we can justly take pride and say like a one time hit record, "We've taken off and there is no turning back".

Before I forget, let me tell you about the Tanzanian experience. Tanzania is more populated than

Liberia and Liberia has more money than Fanzania, but the Tanzanian people are a disciplined people and together with the concept of *Ujaama*. they were brave enough to tell the IMF with her millions to go to hell. We can do the same here.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION PROSPECTS QUESTIONED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 29 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Eric L. Perry: "When Will the Draft Constitution Be Implemented?"]

[Text]

As Liberia moves towards a civilian rule, many Liberians, educated or uneducated, are still of the opinion that the full implementation of the Draft Constitution must be questioned and scrutinized with objectivity.

and The chairman members of the Constitutional Commission must be complimented on their efforts utilized potentially by drafting a new constitution, that is, making some fundamental changes within the framework of the old constitution, for the institutionalization of law and order, and for the well-being nof the people of Liberia, notwithstanding their political, geographical, and ethnical Tross By backgrounds.

From my observation, I have seen that the primary concern of most Liberians about the new Draft Constitution is its implementation because of their experience from the past. The question is: Will the new

Draft Constitution be full implemented? Looking at such a question critically, we shall see that, with events and happenings, and experience in retrospect, we shall come to an answer, not absolutely correct because the characteristics of leaders vary.

The programme "Constitutional Forum" has given every citizen the opportunity to ask questions on articles and sections of the new Draft Constitution: but no citizen has ever asked any question about the full implementation of the new Deaft Constitution despite their concern about it, which is one of the primary objectives for which it was written. Most of the citizens, knowing that the new Draft Constitution was written in order to restore law, and order, and to eliminate the phenomenon of tribalism, don't usually ask questions appertaining to the new Draft Constitution, but ask questions on the contrary.

The Government has done its uttermost best by hiring academicians, in whom it has great confidence, to draft a new constitution for the wellbeing of the people of Liberia. They have improved upon the old constitution, which was considered a constitution by which the ruling class could manipulate the rights of the common people, who, they thought, didn't know their own rights.

Notwithstanding such contributions made to the people and citizens of Liberia, the question on the implementation of the new Draft Constitution should be critically. looked at and analytically scrutinized with objectivity by every citizen. Although the concept of perfection should play a dramatic role in terms of the implementation of the new Draft Constitution, there should be some degree of imperfection because, dealing with human situation, we must always think about the contrary of things that affect us in our daily strive for survival.

It would be naive were we Liberians to look forward to seeing a government that would boost the economic and political development of our country whereas we are not participating in a common programme like "Constitutional Forum".

Will the new Draft Constitution be fully im-

plemented? What direction are we moving towards? Will a demagogue come to power to reiterate what happened in restrospect?

NATIONAL IRON ORE COMPANY WORKERS 'TEMPORARILY' LAID OFF

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 4 Jul 83 p 12

[Article by Abdullah M. Dukuly]

[Text]

Several workers of the National Iron Ore Company (NIOC) in Tubmanburg, have been "temporarily" laid off due to financial and logistic problems.

The lay-off scheme, was implemented Saturday, according to the Industrial Relations Supervisor of the site, Mr. Thomas B. Benson.

He told the Daily Observer in an interview at the weekend that about 45 people affected by the scheme would receive 50 per cent of their regular salaries and wages until February 1984 — a time target set for conditions to return to normal at the company.

"We have decided to embark upon this temporary layoff scheme in order to rehabilitate the entire NIOC from its financial and insufficient equipment problems".

He said the affected people will continue to receive usual emoluments such as medical facilities, housing, death benefits and education from the company.

Mr. Benson pointed out that during the period of

general rehabilitation, the company would not hire any other workers to substitute those affected by the lay-off.

On how to get in touch with those affected when the rehabilitation program expires in February, he said the workers have been asked to leave their addresses with the personnel office for easy contact.

"But if the affected persons cannot be found after their names have been published for about 15 days in an attempt to recall them, their services will be declared voluntary termination", he said.

Asked to point out the particular areas of employment that were affected by the scheme, Mr. Benson said the scheme affected employees of all categories.

He also dispelled fears that the lay-off was a step toward the closure of the company. "Management has no intention to close down operations. It is just trying to rehabilitate the mine when it gets the necessary equipment which have already been ordered for".

He said due to the absence of spare parts and rail road equipment, the production rate of some workers had declined.

Because of lack of these equipment, he said, it has become "useless for workers to just be sitting down all days at work and receiving pay without production".

He said this was the first time that a major company had decided not to declare its employees totally redundant, but temporarily laid-off.

gratitude to the Government and Board of Directors of NIOC for taking such a timely action.

#### RUBBER INDUSTRY REVITALIZATION EFFORTS

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 29 Jun 83 p 4

[Text]

The Rubber Corporation, of Liberia (RCL), formerly the Liberia Rubber Processing Corporation (LRPC), which became reactivated recently under a \$2.8 million agreement between the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) and Liberia, is expected to produce 500 tons of packed rubber monthly.

This was disclosed yesterday by the acting Minister of Agriculture, Mr. D. Jas A. Sirleaf, in an interview with the Daily Observer at his Sinkor office

Minister Sirleaf said RCL is, also expected to ship crated rubber by containers which will be stuffed at the factory.

He pointed out that while several "SMR 5 CV" specification would be produced as "field production will be cup lump," no attempt would be made to market under the grade described.

Instead, the minister went on, production is expected to be placed under the names SLR10, SLR10 VC, SLR P10, LIBRIRUB, etc.

Minister Sirleaf further revealed that RCL, in its revitalization efforts, will provide better price incentives for local rubber farmers, as compared to Firestone, which will enable them to remain in production.

He also said plans are underway to establish contacts with other establishments engaged in the purchasing of rubber to help sell the commodity on the Liberian market and not necessarily through the Firestone Plantations Company.

Meanwhile, the minister said that a six-man committee, chaired by the Liberian Rubber Development Unit's Project Manager, Mr. Elfric K. Porte, was Monday organized by the Ministry to monitor and coordinate activities of rubber production, processing and sales in Liberia.

Minister Sirleaf said the committee, comprising the Rubber Planters Association of Liberia, the Agricultural Cooperative Development Bank (ACDB) and the Technical Affairs Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, is to immediately conduct an indepth study of the rubber industry in the country.

He pointed out that this would help initiate some measures by which farmers would be able to get back to production.

### **BRIEFS**

RUBBER COMPANY WORKERS AGREEMENT -- The Liberia Company in Cocopa, Nimba County, (a rubber company), and the National Union of Plantation Agricultural and Forestry Allied Workers (NUPAFAW), are to sign a three year collection bargaining contract in Monrovia this Thursday. According to an official of NUPFAW, the contract, covering several benefits for nearly 1,000 workers of Liberia Company, will be signed at the Roseline Restaurant on Carey Street, Monrovia. Within the three years period, the wage clause can be renegotiated in 1984 and '85, the official said. Workers are to benefit from an increase in wages, less price for a 100 pound bag of rice, vacation after first year of employment, fully paid maternity leave, improved medical care for family, and a grievance system providing full job security for all employees. The General Manager of Liberia Company, Mr. B. L. Fuller, will sign on behalf of his company while the Secretary General of NUPFAW, Mr. Victor Seton will sign for the union. Meanwhile, Union officials confirmed that the company has been striving hard to raise capital in order to maintain operations. In this light, the officials have appealed to workers and representatives to help reduce waste, improve output and reduce costs. [Text] [Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 27 Jun 83 p 4]

BORDER GUARDS INCREASED--Grand Gedeh County Superintendent, Col. Johnny Garley, has asked the Ministry of Defence to augment the strength of army officers assigned along the Liberian-Ivorian border and other border posts in the county. He said that although the Ivory Coast and Liberia share excellent and cordial relations, it was important that their common border be properly guarded. Superintendent Garley was speaking Saturday in Zwedru when a team of army officials, headed by Logistic Commander John Nuahn, stopped over in continuation of a three-month nation-wide inspection tour of military installations. Col. Garley maintained that a strong contingent at border posts will provide proper protection and help to detect crimes, maintain law and order and sustain the interest of the state. Nuahn then told Superintendent Garley that the purpose of the team's mission around the country was to assess problems affecting the various battalions of the Armed Forces with a view to finding solutions to them. He admonished all battalion commanders to ensure that government properties and equipment assigned to them were properly maintained and used. Meanwhile, the 16-person technical team continues its inspection of installations. The team arrived in Sanniquellie, Nimba County and is due in Bong County later in the week. The team visited Maryland and Sinoe Counties before moving on to Grand Gedeh and Nimba Counties. [Text] [Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 29 Jun 83 p 3]

CSO: 3400/1685

### BRIEFS

CHINESE LOAN--The PRC has granted Mali a loan worth 5 billion Malian francs to be used mainly for agricultural and other projects, including a sugar refinery and rehabilitation of a hotel. The agreement was signed at Koulouba today by the minister of foreign affairs and cooperation on behalf of the Malian Government and by the PRC ambassador on behalf of his government. During the signing ceremony the minister and the ambassador expressed satisfaction with the agreement. [Bamako Domestic Service in French 2015 GMT 10 Aug 83]

CSO: 3419/1140

## CWA, IRRIGATION AUTHORITY LOSSES REPORTED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 14 Jul 83 p 4

[Text] Since the elimination of subsidies for the provision of irrigation water in 1980-81, the Central Water Authority [CWA] has run losses amounting to 39.4 million rupees. The CWA estimates that losses for 1983-84 will be on the order of 4.4 million rupees. All this was disclosed yesterday by Mr M. Soopramanien, chief financial officer of the CWA, in remarks before the Avramovic commission. Soopramanien said that in July 1980 the para-statal body had increased rates by 4 sous (for surface irrigation) and 8 sous (sprinkler irrigation), but that this increase had not been enough to offset the cost of production, which is estimated at 15 sous per cubic meter of water.

Mr Soopramanien said there are 135 water distribution points for irrigation, used by 90 growers. About 50 percent of the volume of water is used by only four growers: St-Andre, Beau-Plan, Belle-Vue Harel and Medine (these establishments are considered members of the grower community). Before the rate increase, the CWA was charging them 0.2 sous (for plantations in the west) and 0.4 sous (for those in the north).

The CWA representative explained that the main items of expense are for administrative costs, operating costs and debt service. The CWA, he added, should be financially autonomous. This is one of the conditions imposed by financial backers.

Mr John Rhodes, general manager of the Irrigation Authority, which had been summoned to talk about the same subject, said that the Irrigation Authority was created to implement and administer the first phase of irrigation in the Plaines du Nord. The plan covers a surface area of 1,928 hectares, 663 of which are irrigated for the Belle-Vue sugar enterprise. The rest belongs to 1,440 small growers. In June 1983 the surface area under irrigation was about 1,865 acres, and Mr Rhodes believes that the entire surface area will be under irrigation by the end of this year. The water used for irrigating the Belle-Vue plantations and the small operations comes from the La Nicoliere reservoir.

The IA [Irrigation Authority] general manager said that the project had been put into operation after the success obtained with a pilot project launched in 1973 to irrigate 240 acres. It was found that as a result of that pilor project cane production per acre was about 10 tons. Mr Rhodes emphasized that IA technicians have been making regular visits to the various sites since the beginning of the implementation phase of the Plaines du Nord irrigation project. The results have been convincing: cane yield per acre has grown to 10-15 tons. IA's rates have been calculated on the basis of 12 tons of cane per acre.

Two types of rates are in force: the one that IA pays the CWA for the water the latter provides it, and the rate planters pay the IA. The IA pays 16.3 sous per cubic meter of water to the CWA. On the other hand, the irrigation dues the planters must pay the IA are established each year by the Ministry of Agriculture after discussions with the authorities concerned. Fro the water furnished in bulk to the Belle-Vue sugar establishment, the IA charges 480 rupees per acre. whose plantations were already under irrigation must pay 1,000 rupees per acre, while those whose plantations were never under irrigation pay 780 rupees per acre. Mr Rhodes explained that the IA's operating costs are very high, amounting to 2,600 rupees for each acre irrigated (about 67 sous per cubic meter). Thus, IA ran up losses on the order of 7 million rupees between 1979 and June 1983. For the fiscal year 1983-84 these losses are estimated at 5.4 million rupees. Mr Rhodes is of the opinion that the grower cannot be asked to pay for all the operating costs, because he is not financially able to meet them: "They can't pay for irrigation dues because of the low price of sugar," he said.

Professor Manrakhan, an assessor [commented]: "Something is wrong somewhere."

Mr R. Sithanen, the second assessor, then asked Mr Rhodes whether IA has already conducted a study to determine the real cost of the project. The general manager replied that in the past the IA had sent out questionnaires to the growers asking them to give their views on irrigation methods. It was subsequently determined that the total area under irrigation had declined because of the high cost of operations.

Mr Indurjeet Jugessur, commercial superintendent of the CEB [Central Electricity Board] noted that the electricity rates charged for irrigation are lower than those imposed elsewhere by the CEB. Mr Jugessur explained that electrical consumption for irrigation has declined over the years, as shown by the following table:

1973:	11 million kilowatt-hours
1974:	13 million
1975:	13 million
1976:	12.9 million
1977:	13 million
1978:	11 million

1979:	10 million
1980:	7 million
1981:	8 million
1982:	4 million (the reduction was due to
favorable climatic conditions).	

Mr R. H. Purryag, CWA irrigation engineer, said that the CWA had asked for a rate increase in 1971. After studying the request, the government proposed in October of the same year that the rates be gradually increased: 4 sous in 1979-80, 6 sous in 1980-81 and 8 sous in 1981-82. The growers on the west coast, Mr Purryas continued, had rejected the governmental proposals and in early 1983 a ministerial committee was established to review the whole question.

Mr Herve Koenig, president of the Mauritius Sugar Producers Association, estimated that the cost of irrigation calculated on a drop-by-drop basis would be 2,000 rupees per acre (for about 4 inches of water per month over a period of 5 months). It would be necessary to produce an additional ton of sugar per acre (or 9 additional tons of cane) to offset expenses other than the cost of the water itself.

9516 CSO: 3419/1127 CITY UNEMPLOYED MOVED TO RURAL AREAS; PUNGUE BRIDGE REPAIRS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 Jul 83 p 12

[Text] Maputo--In five of the principal cities of the nation, namely Maputo, Geira, Manica, Nampula and Pemba, the second phase of the process of moving all the unemployed living in urban centers to rural areas where they will engage in activities of a productive nature has begun.

The new phase of the operation, which is known as "operation production," will consist of tracking down all unproductive persons who had refused to register voluntarily with the activating groups.

Brigades of the defense and security forces on Wednesday afternoon visited the residences of members of the governing board of the party and of the Council of Ministers in Maputo, after checking their respective identity papers.

Beginning yesterday, these brigades interrogated citizens on the public streets or in their homes.

Persons not properly identified, in accordance with the terms of the ministerial directive, are taken to the check-points for clarification of their status.

According to a spokesman for the Central Operation Command, all individuals definitely found to be unemployed without proper justification will be taken to evacuation centers; cases involving the falsification of documents will be tried in court.

Six Evacuation Centers in Maputo

Six evacuation centers have been set up in Maputo. These centers are manned by personnel of the police, the office of the Secretary of State for Labor and the Ministries of Defense, Agriculture, Health and Domestic Commerce, who are responsible for analyzing the cases of all persons sent to the centers and who determine the fate of the unemployed individual.

Although no figures have been released as yet, it is known that a significant number of unemployed were registered by the activating groups during the first phase of the operation, which lasted two weeks.

During the early hours of Wednesday, a large part of these people were concentrated at the points previously designated to await transportation to the places where they will take up residence. Air force and LAM equipment as well as fleets of buses and railway cars were mobilized for these operations.

According to the same spokesman, all unemployed who registered voluntarily enjoy a privileged status permitting them to choose the areas in which they wish to work and guaranteeing them all logistic assistance, ranging from food and housing to transportation of their belongings to the places where they will be settled.

Repair of the Pungue River Bridge

Repair work on the bridge over the Pungue River in the province of Sofala entered the final stage with the setting up of the metal structure and the installation of the respective roadbed. A source in the Ministry of Public Works told the newspaper NOTICIAS that the work is due to be completed by mid-August. The new metal structure was build by Agrotpenn, a Dutch firm and weighs 200 tons.

It is recalled that the bridge over the Pungue River was sabotaged in October 1981 by South African commandos and that repair work on it began at the beginning of April this year.

As the final stage of the work, for which Mozambique is responsible, the laying of the roadbed was begun on 30 June and will continue until 20 July, at which time spreading of the asphalt will begin.

8089

CSO: 3442/305

NAPALM, PHOSPHORUS BOMBS USED ON MOZAMBIQUE VILLAGES, SAYS RNM

Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese 12 Jul 83 p 18

[Article by A. de Cunha Raposo]

[Text] According to official reports issued by the Mozambican National Resistance and in part confirmed by Filipe Oliveira, correspondent in Harare, the repression being exerted on the civilian population of Mozambique by government forces is on the point of becoming even more bloody as the days go by.

According to these sources, the number of persons summarily executed since the end of May under the charge of having collaborated with the RNM [Mozambican National Resistance] has risen to 60. In the provinces of Sofala, Manica and Zambezia, there are villages ringed with mine fields to prevent any contact between the population and the guerrilla fighters. In the province of Gaza, poison has been thrown into wells and small lagoons, a practice now routine for the purpose of punishing and terrorizing farmers suspected of lending support to the RNM.

The reports again mention the use being made by the FRELIMO and the foreign forces cooperating with it, namely those of Zimbabwe, of napalm and phosphorus bombs. Incidentally, the RNM indicates the escalation of the involvement of Zimbabwe in the civil war in progress in Mozambique, apparently as a result of the conversations held in Chimoio some days ago between representatives of the armed forces of the FRELIMO and delegates of the government of Mugaba; an informant with the Resistance Movement reports that the Zimbabwean air force is about to participate regularly in operations in the center of Mozambique and that the rail lines and military installations in that area are rapidly falling under the control of the Zimbabweans.

The same informant reveals that there has been an increase in the presence of Soviet and Cuban military advisers in the province of Nampula, where guerrilla penetration began to expand some weeks ago. At the present time, the naval base at Nacala is thought to be the main center set up in the northern part of Mozambique by the Soviets.

Worthy of special note among the many successes attributed to the RNM guerrillas in the reports issued by that liberation movement is the failure of a government offensive against bases established in the province of Maputo, a few dozen kilometers from the capital, and an attack on the bases held by mercenaries of Zimbabwe near Sussundenga, which was destroyed.

In the meantime, the RNM report continues, the zone under total rebel control, which includes a large part of the Gorongosa, embraces an extensive area included in the tract circumscribed by Maringue, Inhamitanga, Inhaminga and Vila Paiva, and in this sector administrative buildings, schools and small hospital centers are soon to be set up.

The RNM continues its attacks against routes of rail communication, the most recent of which (on the same date as that on which the report was released) was that directed against the railroad running between Maputo and Zimbabwe, adjacent to the locality of Mabalane.

Thirty Portuguese Still in Prison

However great the reservations that one might have with respect to the reports of the RNM (the official statement from Maputo, however, does not dare to contradict them), it is clear that there is a civil war in progress in Mozambique and foreign countries are taking part in it.

In view of this fact, it is not excessive to describe as an instance of thoughtless and dangerous intervention in a civil war being fought in a foreign country, the new development of the situation involving the initiation of military cooperation offered to Maputo by Lisbon, the most recent herald of which is the "revolutionary process in progress" major, Pinto Soares, who came back from Mozambique extremely satisfied with the fact that the Portuguese corps of engineers is going to build a barracks for the troops of the FRELIMO.

And what makes this attitude of the Lisbon government (the present one or the one preceding it) more inconceivable is the fact that in the meantime approximately 30 Portuguese are still being held in prison in Mozambique under no specific charge, among whom is Father Manuel dos Anjos Martins, author of a letter addressed to the government of Tete, in which he made reference to the wretched living conditions of the population.

The telex communications in connection with this matter which reach us from time to time allude vaguely to the attention that the Portuguese authorities intend to devote to the plight of these 30 prisoners. Naturally, the Portuguese authorities are as much concerned with these unfortunates as they were with the persons kidnaped by the UNITA in Angola.

All this leads to the conclusion that the Portuguese authorities on all levels lose not only their sense of national dignity but also the prospect of future interests whenever they are called on to face up to the sad realities of Angola and Mozambique. And this conclusion leads to still another: "to cooperate" in Angola or in Mozambique continues to be dangerous in two ways for the "cooperators:" the guerrillas kidnap them and the government authorities keep them in jail under no specific charge.

8089

CSO: 3442/305

#### BRIEFS

SPORTS AGREEMENT WITH BULGARIA--A sports cooperation agreement for the 1983-84 3-year period [as heard] was signed in Maputo yesterday between Mozambique and Bulgaria following talks held between delegations from the two countries. The cooperation protocol was signed on the Mozambican side by Fernando Ganhao, the chairman of the National Olympic Committee, while (Dinyo Dimitrov), the deputy chairman for physical culture and sports, signed for Bulgaria. In the cooperation protocol, which covers various areas, it is worth noting the part which refers to the training of senior Mozambican cadres in that European country, as well as the dispatch of Bulgarian experts to our country. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 6 Aug 83]

STUDENTS RETURN FROM CUBA--More than 250 students, who completed grade nine in a number of Mozambican schools in Cuba this year, returned to the country, together with five teachers yesterday. This is the second group of Mozambican students who returned home for good after completing grade nine. They will subsequently be assigned to various sectors of activity in accordance with requirements. Reports say that more than 400 students completed grade nine this year. Some of these students will remain in Cuba to further their secondary studies in technical and professional fields. [Excerpt] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 11 Aug 83]

IMPROVED COMMUNICATIONS FOR SHIPPING—Construction work on a coastal naval radio station is expected to begin shortly at Nacala Porto in Manpula. The project, under the Ministry of Ports, Railways, and Merchant Shipping, is aimed at improving communications to vessels sailing along the Mozambique coast. A source linked with the project told our radio station in Nampula that the equipment to be installed at the future coastal station has already arrived in Mozambique. The same source further said that construction work will take about 6 months. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1400 CMT 11 Aug 83]

cso: 3442/318

ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE COUNCIL HIT AS 'WARPED FORM OF DEMOCRACY'
Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 23 Jul 83 p 27
[Article by Gwen Lister]

[Text]

political party .. Any which was awaiting more details on the composition of the socalled State Council before deciding whether or not to participate, will have been disappointed sadly following the publication of the Proclamation for the establishment of the said State Council by the **Administrator General on** Monday of this week. In actual fact, the Proclamation does not help shed any more light on the functions of the socalled State Council, and neither does it really deal with the composition thereof.

Proclamation AG 14 of 1983 - its full title being the Proclamation for the Establishment of a State Council for South West Africa, and for incidental matters - may quite conceivably go down in history as the biggest faux pas of the South African Government in Namibia.

Here we have 'democracy' in its most twisted form, and it is a small wonder that socialism begins to attract the masses, for 'democracy' and the way it is applied here, is warped in the extreme.

Here, once again, as in the past, we have the imposition of a system on Namibia - a system the Namibians did not choose for themselves, and neither do they want it. Here once again, our selfimposed 'guardian' has decided that the people of Namibia will have a State Council, whether they like it or not - something which is quite in keeping with South Africa's already notorious record of broken promises towards the people of Namibia.

To the outside world for the benefit of the outside world and internation, and indeed for the people of Namibia themselves, South Africahas continually claimed that the 'people will decide'. What she failed to add was that if the people had decided and this decision was not in accordance with her wishes,

then she would conveniently ignore them.

#### **COMPLETE DEBACLE**

In fact, the whole socalled State Council debacle, has only served to reaffirm that South Africa is intent on an internal exercise - and one in which the people will not be allowed to have their say - for if they have a say, then South Africa realises full well that their decision will be contrary to her own wishes.

Dr van Niekerk failed, in his Proclamation, to state at what salaries the representatives would be employed, but merely said "a member shall receive such remuneration and allowances as. the Administrator General may from time to time determine". At best the country is apathetic towards the socalled State Council, and at worst, totally resentful, but one fact they are interested in is how much these socalled representatives will earn, and how much it will cost the taxpayer.

But the Proclamation also fails to state how many members will be on the State Council; what their titles will be (if any) of if they will merely remain 'members' in which case they have position inferior to those of the Executive Committees of the various bantustan governand the ments: proceedings and functions of the Council itself are vague.

According to his Proclamation, the Council has the right to "make recommendations to the Administrator General as to the manner in which the Territory of South West Africa is to be administered by or on behalf of its inhabitants until the attainment of independence of the said Territory". Presumbably, this means the writing of a constitution.

In a covering press statement, Dr van Niekerk states as follows: "As is apparent from the Proclamation, such participation presents an historic opportunity to participate in the building of a stable future for this country. No political leader who has the interests of his country and his people at heart can, irrespective of his idealogy and political preferences, afford to allow such an opportunity to pass him by. In this manner, democracy will triumph over violence".

## A BLATANT UNTRUTH

Now most political parties who have decided against participation are of the opinion that if a party truly had the interests of his country and people at heart, then that party would not participate in the proposed State Council. In addition to this. Dr van Niekerk's statement that "in this manner democracy will triumph over violence" is pure emotional claptrap. And a blatant untruth into the bargain.

With what who would

appear to be an interal settlement on the doorstep, the State Council leaves no room for what Dr van Niekerk fondly refers to as 'democracy'.

★ In the first place the socalled State Council is nominated and not elected - so much for 'democracy' - and this is evidenced by the fact the Dr van Niekerk himself has decided which parties may or may not be represented. The Federal Party, according to him, is not worthy of the title 'political' party.

★Notwithstanding South Africa's constant insistence that it is the 'people who will decide', and in the face of almost total opposition to the State Council, they have gone ahead and made of it a reality. Is this, once again, South Africa's idea of 'democracy'?

\* Selected parties were invited to join the State Council - SWAPO was never invited - and exclusion of the largest single political party in Namibia can scarcely be justified in the interests of 'democracy', and neither could it ever spell a settlement of this country or an end to the violence. In fact, as both the Administrator General and the South African Government must be fully aware, this unilateral move can only lead to an escalation of conflict and violence, increased sympathy for the Swapo movement, and instability for the country as a whole for a

long time to come.

## BECOMING A SWEARWORD

It is any wonder that 'democracy' is becoming a swearword in the parlance of most Namibians. For it is often, if not always, used as an excuse for imposing a system the people do not want. In addition to which, each and every political party inside Namibia makes claim to the being a 'democracy' organisation - notwithstanding the fact that some of these parties practice discrimination and apply policies of and ethnic apartheid separation.

In addition to which, the South African Government, rather then allowing 'democracy' to follow its course here in Namibia, are being at the least dictatorial in their policies towards Namibia.

They can hardly claim to the outside world, that the 'people of Namibia' or the 'parties themselves' proposed the initiative which resulted in the formation of a State Council. Only they were desirous of a State Council, for like the National Assembly and Ministers Council, it is something they can manipulate to their own advantage.

It is a sad state of affairs that certain parties, claiming themselves to have the interests of Namibians at heart, are falling victim to South African strategy.

It appears, following the publication of the Proclamations, that there are no political parties which prepared to allow themselves to be convinced of the merits (if indeed there are any) of the proposed State Council.

It should be amply clear to the South African's therefore, that the proposed State Council will be even less 'credible or representative' than its forerunner, the National Assembly. And the fact that the National Assembly and Ministers Council was disbanded, was because it was not 'credible or representative', according to the Administrator General, Mr Danie Hough, and the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha.

### 'DEMOCRACY' BE DAMNED

But certainly South Africa has shown her true colours in one respect: her fear of a possible Swapo Government in this territory following an election in terms of Security Council Resolution 435, has become all to evident. It is equally clear that she will go a long way to avoid the implementation of the said resolution.

'Democracy' be damned. The South African Government does not even know the meaning of the word!

CSO: 3400/1747

## NEWSMAN'S GLOOMY FORECAST FOR SWA REJECTED

## Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 20 Jul 83 p 5

[Article by Sam Davis]

[Text]

AS I pointed out a short while ago, there have been wide and varied prophesies of doom in regard to the future of SWA.

These have taken different forms on TV, on the radio and more prominently, in South African and overseas media not renowned for their friendliness towards the Government of South Africa nor the (white) Administration of SWA.

The latest effort (at the time of writing) is a beaut! In fact, an absolute lulu of doom and dejection.

It appeared in the Argus (Cape Town) on June 16 under the title "Economic decay – SWA waits in limbo..."

It comes from the pen (or typewriter) of Mr Dan van der Vat. He is described as being of the Guardian, London.

This publication falls under the category of not being exactly friendly towards South Africa or South West African white governments.

According to Mr Van der Vat, SWA is up the spout, or down the drain depending on your stance. The Territory has but "a doleful future".

In fact, to all intents and purposes, it is fertig, finished and klaar.

According to the report, South West Africans can kiss themselves goodbye as far as their future is concerned.

# THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

In case readers have missed this particular report it is just as well that they should know their situation as detailed by the observer in question.

He opens up by declaring that the Territory's economy is largely in ruins. This is not only due to "the war" but also because of "widespread asset stripping, including pillaging of fish stocks, encouraged by political uncertainty."

Whatever that might mean?

He declares that interviews with a wide spectrum of leading personalities during a recent visit provided a "catastrophic picture of the Territory's conditions as it waits in limbo for others to decide its future."

One wonders who are the leaders in SWA who provided the reporter with such pessimistic prognastications.

The report refers to the drought being responsible

for the most visible and immediate crisis.

He refers to water being in short supply, resultant in livestock being savagely culled.

He declares that "agriculture is on its uppers."

And the mining industry is apparently in no better shape.

Apparently SWA cannot sell its diamonds because it is at a disadvantage because of the exceptionally high quality of these gem stones. They have to be stockpiled, he says, by the International cartel.

He then turns to uranium and declares that there is a world glut of this metal. This may prevent the SWA ore becoming a source of tax revenue this year. These two aspects, diamonds and uranium will not provide the revenue expected.

Describing Walvis Bay as "South Africa's economic Trojan horse" in the territory, Mr Van der Vat makes the not very veiled allegation that South Africa can use Walvis Bay to put the screw on an independent SWA.

Well, well, well!

He then refers to the departure of whites from the Territory as a damaging factor, taking with them not only their skills but also their money, "which can be exported without hindrance over the border."

The report contends that the euphoria in 1978, when a settlement of SWA's future seemed imminent, has disappeared.

In its place there is "frustration, hopelessness and helplessness." This is due to the American connection of a settlement in SWA to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

However, Mr Van der Vat does not accept that this is the delaying factor towards independence but South Africa's internal politics is the cause.

#### THE PICTURE

One wonders whether Mr Van der Vat has painted a true or distorted picture of SWA. Admittedly some of the physical aspects are correct but what he and many of his ilk fail to recognise or for that matter are perhaps unacquainted with, is the spirit of SWA.

Since its colonisation a century ago there have been many crises. These have been both natural and manmade.

However, they have been overcome largely due to the incredible ability of the nature of SWA's physical makeup, its remarkable ability to recover from drought and lack of water and to become a land "flowing with milk and honey."

He forgets or does not know of the indomitable spirit of the people of SWA,both black and white, not only to survive but to rehabilitate themselves when economic periods of stress pass and are replaced with progress and prosperity.

And this is not thumbsucking. One only has to consider the history of the Territory from the time of the mandate, that is after World War 11, to recognise the truth of this assertion.

CSO: 3400/1747

#### BOARD CLEARS SADF OF MISCONDUCT ALLEGATIONS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Jul 83 p 15

[Text] WINDHOEK. — The South African Defence Force has been cleared of allegations of maltreatment of Kavango civilians in northern South-West Africa, according to the findings of a military board of inquiry into alleged misconduct by security

forces in Kavango.

The findings of the board, chaired by Brigadier Ben de Wet Roos, were released in a SWA Territory Force statement in Windhoek yesterday.

The SWATF said the board had travelled extensively in Kavango since May this year to hear evidence of allegations by the leader of the Namibian Christian Democratic Party, Mr Hans Rohr.

The statement said the NCDP leader had alleged earlier this year that:

- Kavango tribespeople were being forcibly resettled by the SADF in the vicinity of the Kavango river bordering Angola in northern SWA;
- A Roman Catholic priest in Kavango had been forbidden to visit his parish;
- A civilian in the region was being held unlawfully, and,
- An innocent Kavango man had been killed in a firefight by security forces.

The SWATF said the board's findings were that the SADF had had nothing to do with the moving of the civilian population in Kavango from the interior to the river.

"The local tribal chief said in a sworn statement that his people moved voluntarily to the river."

The same applied to the people of another tribal chief who had also stated it was untrue the SADF had forced people to move.

The Roman Catholic priest, a Father Michils, had been temporarily restricted, for his own safety, from visiting his congregation, the SWATF said.

"A group of about 30 terrorists had murdered eight people the previous evening and the security forces were engaged in follow-Up operations.

## Security 3

"Father Michils stated' he had also been requested by his congregation not to visit them because of the security situation.

"He added that at no time other than during 1981 and 1982, when there were terrorists in the area, had he been restricted from visiting his congregation by members of the security force."

Father Michils believed a misunderstanding had arisen which would be rectified by the deacon of the Roman Catholic church in Kavango.

About Mr Rohr's third allegation, the SWATF statement said the board had found that a Kavango assistant male nurse was taken into custody after tracks of nine Swapo terrorists had been found leading to the clinic where he worked.

"He later acknowledged that seven of the Swapo terrorists had asked him to treat a wounded terrorist," the SWATF said.

"He (the nurse) told the board: 'If I were a member of the security force I would come to the same conclusion — that the nurse had helped Swapo.'

#### Reversed

"He added that if the situation had been reversed (that he had nursed a security forces member) 'Swapo would definitely have killed me.'"

The male nurse said he had been well-treated and not manhandled while in custody. He had been released on May 9 this year and taken back by security forces to the clinic to carry on with his duties.

#### Complaint

Regarding Mr Rohr's complaint about the killing of a Kavango civilian, the SWATF said security

forces had spotted a man in a mahango (type of sorghum) field during follow-up operations.

He tried to flee and was shot by members of the security force who, because of his actions, thought he was a terroriet

The dead man was later identified as Mr Asser Likiwa.

His family and the Kavango executive committee were informed of the incident and they accepted that Mr Likiwa's death had been accidental.

Security forces supplied a coffin as well as food for the wake.

The SWATF statement said the board had recommended that "no disciplinary steps be taken against any SADF member."

The statement said the board had pointed out that "people who made allegations, statements and comments or spread rumours calculated to prejudice or embarass the SADF could be subject to prosecution in terms of the Defence Act (Act 44/57), Section 118 (B)."

Meanwhile, a Swatf spokesman declined to comment yesterday on allegations made by Mr Rohr this week in a protest note telexed to the Administrator-General of SWA, Dr Willie van Niekerk.

GROWING OPPOSITION TO SWA STATE COUNCIL REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text] South West
Africa National
Party executive
has decided not
to participate, in the
new State Council for
the territory unless the
territory's Whites are
given the assurance
they will have the final
say over their "so-

The executive said in a statement yesterday it did not agree with the guidelines of the new body because it was based on Black majority decision.

called" own affairs.

The SWA NP said it rejected the kind of political integration which formed the basis on which the envisaged State Council will operate.

The party holds its annual congress on August 23 and 24 and a final decision on participation in the new State Council will be taken then.

But the Party stressed it was prepared to participate in a body which could serve as interim government for the terri-

tory, provided such participation would not force the Whites into political integration.

The Party's leader, Mr-Kosie Pretorius, rejected any institution in which Whites would be subjected to a Black majority vote and said he preferred a body or political system in which parties would participate on a party political basis.

#### Involved

The South African Government will not get involved in the new State Council. Pretoria has only provided the State Council as a framework on which the democratically oriented parties and groups of South-West could build their own interim government.

The Administrator General Dr Willie van Niekerk has had consultations since January this year with all interested parties and groups with a view to the establishment of a political body that could run the internal affairs of the territory.

The State Council and its guidelines were in fact the result of these negotiations and the wishes of the SWA peoples themselves.

The SWA internal political forum has been practically upside down for some time and the State Council should, amongst other things, provide a focal point around which internal political progress could be made.

## **Priority**

The idea is not that the State Council should replace an internationally acceptable constitutional settlement, but that it should only provide a democratically based interim government as an effective alternative to Swapo.

It is understood an international settlement — should it arise at any time — would receive priority over the new interim measures.

Against the signs of cooling support for the proposed State Council

Sapa reports that the Administrator-General last night issued a statement saying negotiations would continue with political leaders in the territory to remove doubts and uncertainties about the Council

the peoples of this country, it is hoped that the great majority of parties will eventually decide in favour of participation," in the proceedings of the Council, Dr. Van Niekerk said.

### **Proposals**

The planned new body represented a synthesis of proposals submitted by political leaders in SWA to establish a forum for dialogue and the exchange of ideas among political parties in the territory, he added.

Meanwhile a spokesman for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, comprising 11 member parties, said the DTA would discuss its attitude toward the State Council at an executive meeting next week.

# CHIEF'S CARE-TAKER ROLE SURPRISES JUDGE THIRION

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 20 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Jean Fischer]

[Text]

PROMINENT Herero personalities, including Herero leader. the Kuaima Riruako and members of the Executive Committee and the Legislative sembly were appointed as "caretakers" of 14 of the 18 farms purchased by the Herero Adfor ministration emergency grazing during the drought.

The 18 farms were purchased at a total cost of R3,2m to supply grazing for 7 834 head of cattle.

This revelation before the Thirion Commission of Enquiry prompted Justice PW Thirion to ask in amazement — "But surely you don't make a parmamount chief a caretaker?"

The caretakers (opsigters) were named by the Executive Committee of the Herero after a decision in January this year, that Herero farmers who had used these farms as emergency grazing should withdraw because of overgrazing.

It was hoped it would rain the following month to allow the grazing on these farms to recover to some extent.

Because these farms could not be left unsupervised, prominent caretakers were appointed.

But they could not be financially compensated for their tasks because of lack of funds.

They were therefore permitted to graze their cattle on these farms.

BUSY PEOPLE
Mr LJS Rabie, Director
of Agriculture for the
Herero Administration,
said he thought it possible
that these prominent people were selected to act as
caretakers because they
were busy people.

It would make life easier for them if they could graze their cattle in fenced areas rather than the unfenced communal grazing lands utilised by the proletariat.

When asked by Justice Thirion how these prominent personalities could discharge their duties as caretakers if a number of them lived some distance away from the farms, Mr Rabie said they had people who could discharge their duties on their behalf.

The crunch came after the Commission had adjourned to obtain a document from Mr Rabie's office.

When asked by Justice Thirion whether the list of "caretakers" were in fact applicants to purchase the farms he said: "This is so."

Mr Rabie said that when the question of the farms being sold to individual farmers was first raised, he advised the Exco that the proper channels should be followed in accordance with the stipulations of the Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure.

It was after this that the 14 applicants named to purchase the farms assumed the temporary guise of caretakers.

#### NO CONTROL

Mr Rabie told the Commission that during the period these farms were at the disposal of Herero ranchers to graze their cattle, there was no control in these areas.

He said that on some farms absolute destruction of the natural environment followed.

He cited an example of the farm Sandfontein with a size of 5 000ha and a carrying capacity of 500 head of cattle.

At one stage, he testified, there were 5 000 head of cattle on the farm.

"It was impossible to continue in this way," he said.

Mr Rabie said at this stage some ranchers have vacated the farms as instructed but some said that they needed more time.

Mr Rabie said that there was no inventory in writing of immovable goods on the farms, and farm inspections could not take place because there was no farm inspector.

"We had one inspector," said Mr Rabie, "but he had to be discharged because of misconduct."

#### DETAILS ON ENOK SETTLEMENT PROJECTS GIVEN

## Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 22 Jul 83 p 6

[Text]

MORE farmers in the Kavango will be assisted to change from subsistence farming to a cash economy at two new Enok settlement projects.

This was announced in a statement by the Corporation in Windhoek this week.

Enok is undertaking this task on the instruction of the Administrator General. Dr Willie van Niekerk, who earlier this year said the settlement and resettlement of farmers in the north of Namibia must be accelerated.

At Vungu-Vungu, east of Rundu, where Enok has a large dairy, the corporation will create an agricultural service point where farmers at these projects will be able to purchase means of production and from where extenwill sion services rendered.

According to Mr Staal Burger, Enok's senior agricultural manager: development, eight Kavango farmers will be settled in conjunction with the Kavango authorities on 140 heetars to produce dry-land mahango on a commercial scale. At this project to the west of Vungu-Vungu, employment for 22 people will be created and the cost of settlement will run to about R79 000.

To the east of Vungu-Vungu a small vegetable production is to be established with five farmers on 10 ha. Mr Burger says they will be trained to produce vegetables to help meet the big demand for fresh produce in Kavango.

The cost of settlement is estimated at R170 000, and during harvest periods about 25 temporary workers will be employed.

"Both the mahango and the vegetable projects are intended to ultimately be farmed by the farmers for their own account," Mr Burger says.

"Enok will assist them with marketing produce.'

In March Enok began a citrus project at Musese, 90 km west of Rundu. There, nine Kavango farmers are being trained to eventually produce citrus on a commercial hasis.

Earlier this month Enok announced that it would settle 20 Wambo cattle farmers on 20 farms of 2 400 ha each at the Mangetti West project where the Corporation already farms with about 8 000 head of cattle on 104 000 ha.

These farms are situated north of the Enok project. According to Mr Burger each farm will be extended to 4 800ha and the number of farms will be increased within ten years to 100 of 4 800ha each.

Owambo tenants will be given the opportunity to develop their farms and herds to the point where after 12 years they will be able to purchase the land, which now belongs to the Owambo authorities.

"In terms of the settlement plan a farmer will be able to have paid off the farm on which he began as a tenant after 20 years, Mr Burger says.

The 100-farm project is expected to cost about R22 million over 25 years. Each farmer will provide a living to about 30 people. Enok will supply the necessary extension services.

CSO: 3400/1747

## HERERO FINANCES REPORTED TO BE IN SHOCKING STATE

# Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 19 Jul 83 p 3

[Text]

THE banking account of the Herero Administration had not been reconciled since December 31, 1982, resulting in the possibility that cheques can be signed without sufficient funds in the bank to honour these.

"A bank balance is meaningless if it is not known what the value of cheques outstanding amounts to," Mr HJC Truter, a member of the investigative team for the Thirion Commission testified before Justice MC Thirion yesterday.

Further evidence regarding the shocking disarray of the Herero finances was led, following on Mr AG Visser, who leads the investigating team's disclosure last week that the Herero Administration last year overspent its R19m budget by R14m.

"Bankruptcy is the destiny of this country-nowhere in the world can you spend money you haven't got. If it costs only 80 cents a head per year to graze one head of cattle, I think we should all move to Hereroland," was the wry and cutting comment of

Justice Thirion after hearing evidence that there was a shortfall of R600 000 regarding income received from grazing fees and expenditure on the part of the Administration in providing essential services in regard to animal husbandry.

## Inadequate

While the Administration paid for the establishment and maintenance of water points, fences and fire breaks, the system for accruing grazing fees was inadequate and haphazard.

Mr Truter testified that the budget for Salaries and Allowances was exceeded by R1 339 233 and attributed this to the drastic increase in the stipendium of the chief, senior headmen, headmen and council members. stipendium for herero leader, Kuaima Riruako was increased from R600 a month to R1 200, senior receive headmen now R250 instead of R120, headmen now receive R200 where they received R75, and council members formerly received R25, and now receive R125.

Mr Riruako explained to the Commission that these people fulfilled vital functions and travelled considerable distances to see to the needs of the Herero people, and also played a role in settling disputes before these matters had to come before a court of law.

#### No control

Another shortcoming in the system of administration of the Herero, was no control over the use of official cars and at all offices of the Herero Administration visited by members of the Commission, civil servants use official transport to and from work.

Also, claims for private transport used were not properly checked out, as in the case of a Mr AJF du Toit who claimed the amount of R502 19 in excess of the amount actually due to him.

The paying out of pensions was described by Mr Truter as "uncontrolled, shocking and a cause for concern," while there was no control in regard to unauthorised telephone calls made by staff members of the Herero Administration.

In regard to the erection of schools and public

buildings, the budget was exceeded by 61 percent. There were no funds available for the purchase of the Wilhemshof Hotel for R362 007 or for the erection of and additions to several schools and the amount of R996 977 spent on these amenities was not budgeted for.

## Edge of chaos

Turning to professional services, that is fees for architects, where in many cases capital works could not be initiated because of lack of funds, the amount of R70 000 was voted and the amount of R1 091 000 spent.

Further evidence of an administration on the edge of chaos revealed that rent on houses was in many cases outstanding for a long period of time.

In Okakarara, for instance, where there are 297 built-up erven, Commission investigators checked 58 files of registered house tenants.

CSO: 3400/1747

#### STATE SUBSIDIZED HERERO FARMS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 21 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Jean Fischer]

[Text]

CATTLE farming in areas inhabited by the Herero people was being artificially kept alive by the State, by pumping State funds into these areas.

The farming system itself is insufficient, and there is no way in which the farmer can financially meet the demands of the necessary infrastructure required in cattle farming.

These statements were made before the Thirion Commission of Enquiry yesterday by the articulate and well prepared Katuutire Kaura, Pubilicity Secretary of Nudo.

The issue in question was State expenditure in regard to items which farmers would, in normal circumstances, have to supply themselves.

For instance, diesel fuel for the water pumps for the 763 boreholes amounts to R621 528 per annum, while salaries for the pump maintenance crew comes to R333 360 a year.

Total expenditure in this field was R2m a year with an income from grazing fees of R110 000 a year.

Mr Kaura pointedly asked Mr Lynton Rabie,

Director of Agriculture for the Herero Administration, if he agreed that a farm in the Waterberg area of 5 000 hectare would require four watering points.

Mr Rabie agreed to this and Mr Kaura said if this was the case then the area of 13 million ha where Herero people engage in cattle farming should have over 10 000 watering points, and not only 763 boreholes.

"Cattle farming cannot meet the financial requirements because the farming areas are under-utilised and productivity is too low to cover costs."

"Over-grazing affects the quality of the animal and subsequently the income," he said.

Mr Rabie said that the entire system of communal farming areas was unacceptable and that he would like to see fenced areas, camps and better water distribution. He also said the potential is not being properly utilised.

For the Herero farmer the possession of cattle means wealth, and one farmer could have as many as 1 000 head of cattle and not sell all that many during one year, while grazing and watering amenities are supplied at State expense,

Mr Rabie said.

In regard to water supplies to areas where Herero people live, he said in addition to the 763 boreholes and 214 windpumps, pipelines for water supplies had also been established.

"Isn't it a fact that farming being conducted on communal ground creates problems?" enquired Justice MC Thirion.

question This countered by a statement from Mr Kaura who said there are almost daily requests from Herero farmers to their leaders, asking for fenced and individual areas for practising animal husbandry in the reserves, but there was no money to finance a new deal for Herero farmers and the major portion of the grazing lands was still open country.

Mr Kaura said the Herero farmer had become very well aware of the disadvantages of free-range grazing for cattle, where cattle could graze up to 60 and 70 km without being deterred by fences.

"They are aware that this is uneconomic and want individual units, but this is not economically feasible," he said. Mr AG Visser, chief in-

Mr AG Visser, chief investigating officer for the Commission of Enquiry said to his knowledge there were a number of surveyed farms, but these were still not 'utilised on an individual farming basis but as a communal area.

CSO: 3400/1747

#### SUCCESS OF AIR COMPANIES REPORTED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 Jul 83 p 11

[Text]

SWA/NAMIBIA is proving a lucrative area for air companies.

Both National Airways Corporation and Namib Air are operating with great suc-

cess in the area.

NAC has an established and active subsidiary in Windhoek and latest reports show that sales have escalated over the last seven years.

Namib Air, active since 1947, has since provided all the needs for scheduled and non-scheduled air services in SWA/Namibia.

An NAC spokesman said the company had noticed a change in market requirements recently.

"Aircraft are no longer being purchased as luxury items, but rather out of necessity. Many businesses are operating with fewer staff who have to cover greater areas — both mentally and physically. Thus many con-cerns have realised and acted on the need for a quick method of transport – naturally flying. It is now becoming quite common to hear of 'flying' doctors, farmers and businessmen going about, their business in easily the most cost- and time-effective way," the spokesman said.

He said this was particu-larly so in SWA/Namibia.

"For example the depart-

ment of water and electri-

city, SWAEK, recently purchased a plane for personnel use and checking pipelines etc. Many other up-and-coming companies and departments are finding that flying is most beneficial, particularly for sales representatives' visits around the country," he said.

He pointed out that because SWA/Namibia was such a vast country, sales visits were time-consuming and expensive. "Flying cuts down considerably on travelling time and accommodation expenses, leaving the salesman free to keep up-to-date with paper work," he explained.

"It seems that each sector of the country's population has particular preferences in aircraft. Doctors tend to go for the popular 36 Bonanza, one of the main reasons being the convenience of the large double doors which allows room for the movement of stretchers, nurses and equipment.

"The mining fraternity prefers the sophisticated King Air range, particularly well known for safety and reliability. Engineers and ar-chitects choose the smart executive twin-engined Bar-ons to suit their extensive travel requirements," the NAC spokesman added.

3400/1687 CSO:

## BUILDING PROJECTS IN SWA STOPPED, PROBE TOLD

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Jul 83 p 10

#### [Text]

WINDHOEK. — Poor financial control in the Herero representative authority caused several building projects, especially schools, to be abandoned, the Thirion commission of inquiry into alleged government malpractices in South West Africa has been told in Windhoek.

The Herero administration, which overspent by R19-million its budget of R14-million last year, still owed more than R100 000 in architects' consultation fees on projects which had to be stopped.

The judicial commission, chaired by Mr Justice P W Thirion of Natal, is presently hearing evidence the second-tier ethnic authority of the Hereros.

An accountant and member of the commission's team of investigating officials, Mr Hendrik Truter, said in evidence before the commission on Monday the payment of annual stipends to Herero chiefs and headmen, as well as their councillors, had also taken a "huge

slice" from the administration's funds.

The leader of the commission's investigating team, Mr A G Visser, said in earlier evidence the Herero Executive Committee had, among other allocations, paid R20 000 to Herero Chief Kuaima Riruako.

The money was to buy a motor vehicle although, as a member of the now defunct Ministers Council, Mr Riruako had received R15 000 from the central government to buy a car.

The Herero administration had also made available to Mr Riruako R144 000 to build a residence.

Mr Visser questioned the administration's authority to pay the money to Mr Riruako.

In evidence before the commission, Mr Riruako said as leader of the Herero nation he was entitled to an official residence.

He was not the first chieftan to be given a house by the government and his house was not excessively luxurious.

The R20 000 given to him by the administration

was a gift initially intended to be paid in equal instalments over four years but donated in one lump sum

Mr Visser told the commission that the only hotel at Okahandja, about 70 km north of Windhoek, had been bought for R362 000 by a company whose five directors were the five members of the Herero executive committee.

The hotel was owned for all practical purposes by the administration for Hereros.

Mr Visser submitted that the administration for Hereros did not have the authority to buy the hotel.

Another investigating official, Mr Johan Calitz, said an examination of the administration's personnel department had shown that various employees had been paid without being on duty. Unpaid leave was not being deducted from salaries.

Mr Calitz said he had come across files of an official who had resigned from the administration more than two years ago but was still drawing a monthly salary from the administration.—Sapa.

#### BRIEFS

TAIWANESE ELECTRONIC FIRM—The Walvis Bay Town Council at its regular monthly meeting last night gave the "green light" for the negotiations to go ahead by which a Taiwanese firm will open an electronics manufacturing undertaking in Walvis Bay. The Town Council unanimously gave its blessing to the stationing of top Taiwanese technicians and industrialists in the enclave to establish and operate the factory. The Mayor, Cr. C. L. de Jager MPC said the industry would be welcomed in Walvis Bay. He foresaw no difficulty in the top persons connected with the factory living in Walvis Bay. There were all the facilities the factory required available and it would be a boost to the long cherished ideal of a freeport at Walvis Bay. The Mayor added that the Dept. of Internal Affairs would have the final say in issuing the residence permits to the Taiwanese. The establishment of an industry of this nature will create a new dimension in industrial development in Walvis Bay. [Text] [Walvis Bay NAMIB TIMES in English 1 Jul 83 p 1]

#### BRIEFS

FRENCH MILITARY GIFT--The French Government yesterday afternoon presented our national armed forces [FAN] a gift of military equipment. The presentation ceremony was attended by the secretary general of the Ministry of National Defense, Lieutenant Colonel Aoua Pierre, the deputy chief of general staff of the FAN, the French ambassador to Niger and several FAN officers. The French ambassador took the opportunity to describe the program of military cooperation between the two countries. Responding to the French ambassador, the secretary general of the Ministry of National Defense said that France, by making this gift, was setting an example of trust in the field of cooperation. [Text] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 19 Jul 83 p 1] 9516

CSO: 3419/1098

#### IMPROVED POSTAL SERVICE WITH CUBA REPORTED

Victoria NATION in English 5 Jul 83 pp 1, 10

[Text]

THE Postal Services reported vast improvement yesterday in mail connections with Cuba after two batches of letters arrived in Seychelles this week-end just one day after leaving Havana.

However, far from being complacent, the Director of Postal Services, Mr. Romeo Ouatre, called on anyone with continuing problems, such as parents of students in Cuba, to between them. call on him at the Central Post Office in Victoria to help his Seychelles is put in a bag of its Division monitor the situation.

Up to June, letters to or from Cuba were taking up to two months to reach their batches of mail received from destinations and Seychellois students in Cuba and their reach here and a third seven parents had to wait for days. between four to six months to get replies.

During a week's visit to Cuba in late May, Mr. Quatre [two lines illegible] met Seychellois students there destinations,"

found that the delays were caused when letters were resorted in post offices along the route.

The Postal Services Director said that his Cuban counterparts had agreed with his point that closer relations between the two countries and their peoples would depend on the efficiency, speed regularity of communications

Now mail from Cuba to own and is sent on new routes via Madrid or Paris twice a week.

Last Saturday, of the three Cuba, two had taken a day to

"Under the new arrangement, letters to or from

Mr. Quatre as well as his counterparts, and said. He added that the Cuban postal authorities had agreed with Seychelles to continue monitoring the situation.

"This is why it is important that anyone with complaints should come and see me so that we can iron out any snags as soon as possible," Mr. Quatre said.

Mail from Seychelles to Cuba is being sent on Air. France via Paris once a week.

During his visit to Cuba which he described as "very fruitful," Mr. Quatre was very impressed by a factory making postal and telephone equipment and materials. He was surprised at the low costs of production of the materials which were of comparable quality to anything manufactured anywhere else.

"There definitely is room for co-operation here," Mr. Quatre said, adding that the final details where now being worked out.

The Postal Services Director also reported progress in improving the regularity and security of mail sent from London and/or via Nairobi.

month, the British postal authorities agreed to put mail to Seychelles on Air France's Friday flight to the islands. This way, if for some reason the letters missed the flight, would catch Air France's Sunday trip.

"So far this has been successful," Mr. Quatre said, "and at last it looks as if the

problems that have caused letters from London to take so long to reach here have been solved."

However, just to make sure, In talks held in London last in October the London to Sevchelles mail flight will be changed yet again when Air Seychelles starts flying between the two capitals. Mr. Quatre expects this to result in regular and much better automatically service "security-wise".

> Mr. Ouatre noted that the British postal authorities had acknowledged that they had problems with travelling from Seychelles to London.

On his way home from London Mr. Quatre stopped over in Nairobi where there have been several cases of Seychelles mail being tampered with.

The Postal Services Director met with a concerned Kenya Airways' security chief who brought the Kenyan postal authorities into the talks, and inspected the airlines mail security arrangements.

A full investigation has been launched and the Seychelles Postal Services hopes to hear mail of results in the near future.

SAP

3400/1690 CSO:

ZULU PAPER ADVISES BUTHELEZI'S WARNING NOT TO BE TAKEN LIGHTLY

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 8 Jul 83 p 14

[Text]

In an editorial which appeared in the Zulu-language llanga last week, OBED KUNENE, the editor, discusses the divisions which are appearing in the black community

THE warning by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi at the weekend conference of Inkatha at Ulundi is not to be dismissed lightly. It contains words that can be ignored or dismissed only by those who would eschew the truth and those who lack foresight.

Chief Buthelezi warned of the danger of blood-letting among blacks themselves if the ANC persisted with their vilification of him. It was not first warning by the Chief. After the collapse of the amicable relations that blossomed as a result of the celebrated meeting between top Inkatha and ANC leaders in London in October 1979, things

have never been the same. There has been constant sniping and a kind of internecine wrangling between the two parties.

Chief Buthelezi charges that the ANCin-exile is bent on destroying his internal leadership, and he cites the constant name-calling directed against him as one example of the campaign by the exiled movement. The ANC for their part deny these accusations and insist they are fighting against the Boers and any other symbol representing the system.

This is a matter of deep regret because what it means is that the black man's struggle for liberation is bogged in the morass

of leadership squabbles and personality differences among elements that should be pulling together. We have stated repeatedly here that the divisions and dissension within the ranks of those fighting for liberation do not help the suffering masses in any way. It helps only those who continue with their domination of the oppressed.

The situation at Lamontville and Chesterville, for instance, is hardly an edifying spectacle. The splitting of a community into so many different groupings can never bring about the type of emancipation desired by the majority — in

other words, a healthy liberation, not the type that brings more suffering than in the days of oppression.

The Boer government is trying to marshal its forces into one common laager. The blacks as a whole are being ostracised and confined to the role of beggars who must be content with crumbs from a South Africa that is now to belong only to the whites, Coloureds and Indians.

Against such a scenario, we would like to know what justification can be found for us blacks to be at each other's throats and mauling one another in such fashion? Aren't we suffering enough already under the yoke of oppression?

COMPANIES' CLAIMS AGAINST VENDA GOVERNMENT TOTAL 26 MILLION RAND Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Tony Stirling]

[Text]

Mr Jaap de Villiers and his companies now have claims totalling R26-million against the Venda Government.

The first claim, on behalf of Mr De Villiers and his attorney, Mr Arthur Kruger, personally, relates to shares sold in the Venda casino by Upsurge Investments (Pty) Ltd. It is for R6-million.

The second claim is for R20-million by Inspiration Investments (Pty) Ltd and relates to commission allegedly due to the company in respect of a loan raised on behalf of the Venda Government.

## Commission ·

Although the loan was never taken up by the Venda Government, Inspiration Investments is claiming the R20-million commission in terms of a clause in the agreement it made with that government.

Among the respondents in the R20-million claim are the Venda Government, its Minister of Justice, the Minister of Works and Transport and the Minister of Economic Affairs.

## Jurisdiction

According to lawyers, Inspiration Investments, unlike Mr De Villiers and Mr Kruger, allege that it is not necessary to bring an application to sue an independent State in the R20-million matter, since the company alleged that the Venda Government agreed to the jurisdiction of the Transvaal Supreme Court in the event of any dispute.

#### AFRIKANER DISUNITY SHADOWS FAK TALKS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Jul 83 p 11

[Article by Peter Sullivan]

[Text] Afrikanerdom, which holds a fascination for the world in general and English-speakers in particular, is guarded by a strange and jealous structure, the peculiarly named FAK.

The letters, always pronounced in Afrikaans, stand for the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations). This umbrella organisation cares for all functions affecting Afrikaner life.

Right at the top of the hierarchy of Afrikanerdom are the visible leaders of the nation: the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, the university rectors, other academics, literati and the heads of the SABC, Sanlam, Saambou and Volkskas.

These high-profile people pay obeisance to the great se cret organisation which formulates the nation's policy, the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB). Most members of the Afrikaner clan do not find the AB sinister. Its secrecy is necessary to allow it to argue and reach viewpoints away from public glare, they say.

Naturally only the intelligentsia are invited to join. About 1 200 of them.

Ranked with the AB - they share the same building near the SABC in Auckland Park is the FAK.

Under the FAK umbrella are all bodies wishing to share in the carefully controlled atmosphere created by Afrikaner Christian Nationalism.

Each of the bodies concerned appears to retain its independence yet heeds orders (couched as suggestions or requests) from the FAK. Each uses the FAK secretariat to organise functions, and its lists for approved speakers.

#### WIDE RANGE

Affiliates include the Rapportryers, the Junior Rapportryers, the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) and 3745 other bodies. These range from church councils to the Afrikaner Education Congress.

That figure sounds high but represents a drop from the record 4 000 organisations in 1979.

Some idea of how the cradleto-grave cultural care works comes from looking at the way public holidays are organised.

If a town needs a speaker for the Day of the Vow or Kruger Day it approaches the FAK, which suggests someone whose ideas conform. He may be a Rapportryer chairman, or an academic. Maybe a politician.

When you stop conforming, you stop being proposed.

Most children learn about the FAK through its book of folksongs, the definitive version of Afrikaans music.

The FAK awards prizes in literature, broadcasting and even for efficient administration. It keeps standards high, maintains purity.

Its annual congress started in Pretoria today amid the greatest Afrikaner disunity since the National Party came to power in 1948.

The FAK has always been considered a conservative body and counts Professor Carel Boshoff, recently resigned AB chief, among its executiv. It has a budget running to R1,6 million for 1983.

Both sides of the split in Afrikanerdom's political ranks will be keeping beady eyes on each other to see if there is a grab for power in the FAK, and this week's congress should indicate which side has the upperhand, or whether temporary peace will prevail.

3400/1686 CSO:

## UNIONIZATION OF BLACK MINERS SEEN AS UPHILL BATTLE

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 21 Jul 83 p 8

[Article by Phil Mtimkulu]

#### [Text]

GOLD is responsible for the prosperity of South Africa and each time the price of gold goes up there are celebrations to mark the success, but those responsible for extracting it from the bowels of the earth were until recently treated shabbily.

Within the next two years South Africa will be celebrating the centenary of the discovery of gold on the Reef. But for all those 100 years black miners have been regarded as mere casualty statistics. Black miners have been despised, derided and scorned. Being a miner was one of the lowest jobs that nobody ever aspired to do.

And when the Wiehahn Commission report gave an impetus to the unionisation of black workers, the miners were left out as it did not make provision for migrant workers. But when this restriction fell away the miners decided to do something for themselves. They

Ins was now the National Union of Mineworkers (Num) was born.

It is a year since Num was formed, but within that short period they have achieved the impossible — unionising 30 000 mineworkers. By any standards this is an impressive figure, but according to Mr Ramaphosa it was all sweat and toil.

Right from the outset up to the time of our reaching an agreement with the Chamber of Mines we had to battle all the way. It was not easy, and during the battle we nearly gave up. But for the sake of the desperate mine workers we had to summon all our strength and courage amid formidable odds and push on.

"Our efforts and determination have been rewarded with a recognition agreement with the Chamber of Mines which, in the history of the mining industry, is an achievement to be proud of," Mr Ramaphosa said.

"When we set out to build the union from the few miners who were sending messages to us we were confronted with a number of problems among which included:

- people who regarded themselves as migrant workers with a rural background,
- unhelpful mine managements, and,
- hostile white mineworkers.

Even towards the end of our success story we still had to fight against a formidable team of experienced negotiators while we were not as well equipped," he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said he was distressed by the

stories the miners told him about the general conditions pertaining to their employment. "These people were treated like real dirt and not valued like the gold they extracted from the bowels of the earth at great risk to themselves.

"One could sense it that they were desperate to have a vehicle which could channel their grievances to management. They were dismissed for minor offences like not calling a white colleague 'baas.' They were faced with an unsympathetic management and hostile white miners who ordered them to work in dangerous places. This is what drove me on against great odds when organising the workers into a union," he said.

During their recruitment campaigns on the mines, organisers of the union were constantly intimidated by mine management who often called in the police. Two organisers of Num were subsequently arrested.

"Management tried everything possible to pressurise us from unionising the workers.

"The white miners, on the other hand, made it known that they were going to fight tooth and nail to stop us from unionising the black workers. They saw unionised workers as a threat to their jobs which were protected by legislation," Mr Ramaphosa said.

Since the majority of mine workers regard themselves as peasants first and workers next, how did Mr Ramaphosa transcend this barrier which proved problematic in Africa during the colonial era? The problem facing trade unions was that migrant workers saw themselves basically as subsistence farmers and only came to work in industry during bad times and never gained any skills.

"We had to emphasise it to the workers that a better standard for them in the work place would invariably mean an improvement in their home environment. Since a large number of these miners have acquired skills this makes them better workers who see themselves as permanent mineworkers.

"As far as the agreement is concerned, so far we are happy. But our feeling is that there is still much more work that has to be done. The mining industry was one of the most neglected and the employers never really showed that they cared for the welfare of their workers. Their salaries, which are still

Since a large number of these miners have acquired skills this makes for the poverty datum line, have yet to be adjusted.

In spite of having a recognition agreement with the Chamber of Mines, Mr Ramaphosa said this was the beginning of tougher battles with the Chamber. This was confirmed when a dispute arose between the two when they were negotiating 17 outstanding issues. It arose when the Chamber asked for a clarification on the meaning of a joint commitment to the elimination of discrimination.

The Man in the Hot Seat

CYRIL Ramaphosa is the driving force behind the unionisation of mine workers into the National Union of Mineworkers (Num) and the agreement they entered into with the Chamber of Mines.

Ramaphosa, who is 30 years old, is the general secretary of the mineworkers' union. He is a former president of the Turfloop region of the South African Students

Organisation (Saso). His activities with the students' movement earned him long spells in detention. He was detained for 11 months from 1974 — 1975. In 1976 he was detained for six months.

With a B. Proc degree from the University of South Africa, Ramaphosa first worked in the legal unit of the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa). In March this year he went to Britain and America where he spent time with various mining unions.

The period he spent overseas was later to stand him in good stead when they were negotiating with the Chamber of Mines.

"Our team was inexperienced as compared with that of the Chamber. Our team consisted of Piroshaw Camay, the secretary of Cusa, myself, our president and shaft stewards. Having clinched an agreement with the powerful Chamber of Mines makes us proud of ourselves. We are still learning about trade unionism and at the same time teaching our members what trade unionism is all about. but the Num is not to be taken lightly," he said.

CSO: 3400/1686

UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS GRIPS RAND

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 10 Jul 83 p 29

[Article by Eben Venter]

[Text]

AN unemployment crisis on the Rand has plunged hundreds of families into a bitter winter struggle for survival.

"The winter of no work" has been particularly gloomy on the East Rand, recalling the depression of the Thirties.

Personnel agencies and the Department of Manpower in the area are swamped by desperate job-hunters as businesses and industries continue retrenching people and freezing vacancies.

The scope of the problem is immense and it involves people from all trades, skills and professions — from those with a lower education, to technical trainees, engineers and even people as highly qualified as chartered accountants.

A survey by a Boksburg personnel agency showed that 30 percent of those who have been made redundant recently have lost previous jobs in the past year.

Some workers have been retrenched more than four times, while numerous of these "superfluous" workers have been unsuccessfully job-hunting for the last five months or more.

## "Old" at 40

In one-third of the cases, liquidation of a firm was involved.

According to Mr Dick Mackridge, personnel agency owner and president of the Boksburg Chamber of Commerce, the coloured and Asian section of the population are hardest hit, and scores are still being retrenched.

"Job-hunting started intensifying since July last year. Initially we dealt with people who deserved retrenchment.

"But since January, hard workers and well-qualified people began losing their jobs", Mr Mackridge said.

"A number of companies used the declining economic situation to get rid of their 'older' workers.

"And people are now considered 'old' at the age of 40.

"Increasing unemployment has also had a bad effect on the retail business because of a drop in their clients buying power.

in their clients because of a dropin their clients buying power. "I know of a very big retail company in Boksburg whose turnover has dropped by 40 percent," he said.

Mr Mackridge also said that unemployment has a negative psychological effect on people.

"People feel there's a stigma attached to retrenchment, they're extremely sensitive about the whole issue because the security of their whole family is at stake," he said.

An electrical supervisor and father of four children, Mr G Oosthuizen, 46, of Germiston, has been without a job since March. Mr Oosthuizen, who ran a successful transport business, has been forced to sell six of the seven trucks he owned.

"I've lost everything. I have been forced to sell my house and I don't know where we're going to live," he said.

## Nomads

Mr and Mrs Otto have been jobless for a year. All they have left is a suitcase and a bundle of blankets.

Mr Otto, a qualified crane driver, said they live like nomads, travelling from one relative to the other, while receiving money from the Unemployment Fund.

Mr Dilip Desai, of Boksburg, has a BSc degree in Chemistry, and diplomas in Plastics, Production and Business Management.

"I have been retrenched from the beginning of June, and I find the whole situation percentage transpared."

very traumatic."
Mr Gabriel MacDonald, 29, a qualified boilermaker, has been looking for a job since February. "I have been to Cape Town and back. There are no jobs. I don't know what am going to do," he said.

CSO: 3400/1686

POWER-SHARING LABELLED 'UTOPIAN DREAM'

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 10 Jul 83 p 18

[Article by Professor Andre Thomashausen]

[Text]

over South Africa's new constitution has led to widespread fear and uncertainty.

Will there be a peaceful continuity of South Africa's constitutional order, or are the new reforms a first sign of future ruptures? Can the new constitution re-unite the country?

One should not blame the Government for not wanting to weaken the State by negotiating the future with its opponents, for trying to shorten the period of transformation as much as possible and thus strengthening the executive.

South Africa has always had an authoritarian system of government based on a limited and manipulated democratic legitimacy.

If such a system of government tries to engage in structural changes, it will always experience a weakening of its authority.

It can, therefore, never rely on any form of constructive engagement with groups which have, so far, been excluded from the exercise of power.

There is hope in the fact that the new reforms have been shaped by the Afrikaner elite, are rooted in an understanding of Africa and that the influence of

Westminster thinking has been reduced.

England never experienced any group and race antagonisms worth mentioning, and whenever it tried to handle such problems outside the realm, as in Northern Ireland and in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, it failed completely.

Sadly, the English doctrine of "Sovereignty of Parliament" has served as the constitutional instrument for the most farreaching "democratic" suspension of human rights, especially in English-speaking Africa.

On the other hand, the constitution of the United States allowed the genocide of the indigenous American population and deliberate discrimination against what remains of it.

The "American model" has also lost some of its attraction in most South American states which do not fall short of Karl Marx's horrific vision of the last stage of capitalism.

Human rights campaigners in South Africa should think twice before they associate their causes with the "American values" which produced those results.

HE adequacy of the future system of govern-

ment must not be decided in terms of abstract ideologies, but according to the functions it will have to perform.

The basic function of any system of government is to create adequate elites, to make their exercise of power acceptable to the individual and thus reduce the necessity for repression, and to provide for the control of government.

Thus, by equipping government with the necessary degree of legitimacy — as it is perceived by the people and not according to any alien ideologies — the basis is laid for good performance, for a better rule of law, and for improvements in the field of human rights.

Under the new constitution, the elite-forming role
of the National Party is
maintained through the
mechanism for the election
of the Executive President,
who will control the entire
system of government.
Moreover, provision is
made for newly co-opted
elites of other race groups
to have access to the exercise of power.

This will widen the scope of legitimacy with an improvement of South Africa's image abroad that should not be underestimated.

Neither should one be confused by the fact that the centre of democratic le-

gitimacy, Parliament, does not coincide with the new centre of power, the indirectly elected Executive President.

This is common to many presidential democracies, and research has provided evidence that it matters little for the performance of the President whether he has been elected directly or indirectly.

What counts is the legitimacy of the system of government on the whole, and not its individual institutions.

As far as the control of government is concerned, the power of Parliament is reduced because the executive will be less dependent on it.

Nevertheless, the tricameral structure is in a better position to exercise control than the traditional Westminster Parliament under the unchallenged domination of a governmental majority.

However, a better solution to institutional conflicts at the top level of government could be achieved through dignifying the independent judiciary, rather than deliberately excluding it from all constitutional matters.

Are all these positive conclusions inconsistent with the continuing segregational elements of South Africa's constitution?

A segregated organisation of democratic legitimation in South Africa is a necessity, deriving from the very principle on which democracy is based.

In a democracy, minorities will accept the rule of the majority if they perceive a fair chance of becoming part of a future majority.

majority.

This principle also limits the scope of an existing majority, which is fearful of having to submit to the rule of today's minorities, which

may become tomorrow's

majority.

The operation of this rule and thus of democracy itself, becomes difficult if a society includes groups whose members will refuse, for cultural, economic, religious or racial reasons, to form majorities across the cleavages separating them.

Under such circumstances, the integrating function of democracy is frustrated, unless democracy is allowed to operate for each group separately.

Without exception one observes that the intensity of group antagonism in a society is the exact measure of its tendency towards a segregated system of government.

HE European Community has developed from an economic organisation into a de-facto confederation of states, with its own legislature, executive and judiciary.

However, none of these bodies has been constituted by uniform one-man-one-vote elections in the EEC's 10 member states.

The operation of the EEC's powers and its democratic legitimacy is as segregated as possible because the antagonisms between its 10 member states are nearly as extreme as those in South Africa.

The facilities in the different states are extremely unequal and, instead of voluntary support for segregation within the EEC, there is strong pressure by the poorer countries to overcome segregated structures and to dominate the wealthier countries on an integrated majority basis.

The conclusion is that segregated systems of government are completely normal and an adequate form of political organisation for societies divided by group antagonism.

The new direction in South Africa's system of government is a partially integrated creation of democratic legitimacy.

It was preceded by integrationist legislation in the field of labour relations. Together with several other examples, such as the new Universities Bill, the underlying intentions become clear.

By giving white universities a legal excuse to accept a quota of non-white students, the hope is that multiracial university teaching will become a normal reality, and thus in the near future make the quota-system dispensable.

The co-option and integration of the non-white middle classes in matters concerning personal status, residences and community affairs will be a next step, if this policy direction is to be continued.

T is wise to practise and to experience new areas of racial integration from below.

A peaceful and successful performance of a highly divided and heterogeneous society will never be achieved by imposing an artificial uniformity from above, but only by allowing it to develop, through a greater variety of structures and truly pluralistic choices for all the different groups concerned.

While this may occur it does not seem in any way contradictory that the political organisation of South Africa as a whole remains

segregated.

However defective and incomplete segregated participation through the homelands structure and in the framework of the newly independent states may be, it cannot be denied that these structures create legitimacy and have a good

potential for improvement.

Therefore, the homeland strategy should not be left in limbo, but strengthened and allowed to gain greater

credibility.

The ethnic structure of South Africa justifies a system of government which, at the top-level is a confederation of states between the Republic and the newly independent states, while on the next level it may develop federal structures, linking certain provinces and homelands to the Republic, and, on a third-level, provide for a flexible and thus more or less integrated democratic interaction of groups and races within the Republic itself.

The existing system of government has all the po-

tential for adequate development, because a segregated political system will remain the only possible constitutional framework for South Africa for the foreseeable future.

he successful elite of South Africa, which happens to be white, has good reason for not accepting the transfer of power to other groups on a simply numerical basis.

It should be noted that the confusing term of "power sharing", in its literal meaning, has no equivalent in other languages, which will translate it as "separation of power", "splitting of power", or "control of power".

The exercise of State power is perhaps the only phenomenon in human existence that cannot be "shared", but merely limited, controlled or sepa-

rated.

Power will naturally tend towards exclusiveness, which is why the French Revolution happened, and why the constitutional history of the world over the last centuries has focused on concepts such as the "rule of law", and on the entrenchment of "minimal human rights".

rights".

Building a system of government on the naive hope that antagonistic groups will peacefully "share" the power of government, resembles those Utopian dreams that a society could exist without criminal law merely by appealing to the conscience of potential

criminals.

#### WEAKENING OF BROEDERBOND EVIDENCED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 10 Jul 83 p 19

[Article by Hans Strydom]

[Text] FOR the first time in its history the powerful Afrikaner Broederbond this week appeared almost helpless.

> Reeling from deep divisions in its ranks, it had to admit publicly that it could not give direction to its members — at this stage anyway — on whether to support Mr P W Botha's constitutional proposals or not.

> Since Dr Andries Treurnicht walked out of the National Party in February last year to form the Conservative Party, the Broederbond has been politically divided and the bulk of its membership is drawn from conservative spheres: the Afrikaans churches, the teaching profession and the farming community.

Dr Treurnicht, a former AB chairman, enjoys strong support in the organisation.

The Broederbond masterminded the policy of separate develop-ment, and Mr Botha's "power-sharing" between whites, coloureds and Indians is seen by many members as a major departure from its beliefs.

Because of political differences, the Broederbond has, since the split in the National Party, been paralysed.

It could move neither way for fear of a split in its own ranks.

Yet this was an unnatural role for an organisation which has dominated South Africa politically since 1948.

Both sides knew that sooner or later a decision would be forced and the top prize in the battle would be control of the secret society.

Mr Botha was slow off the mark to realise the importance of the AB in the power struggle.

In contrast, his predecessor, Mr John Vorster, was much closer to the organisation and knew how to "play" it to his own advantage.

## Sting

He realised that the fight for control of the National Party did not lie in its caucus, but in the Broederbond.

And that is where he routed the

Hertzogites and won the day.

Mr Botha and his right-hand man, Mr Chris Heunis, became "exempted" members of the Broederbond in the early Sixties.

This meant they did not have to attend meetings regularly and it resulted in a looser relationship between the organisation and the two politicians.

Mr Botha soon felt the sting of an organisation he had underestimated.

Dr Treurnicht was strongly backed by church and educational leaders when he repudiated Mr Botha on the participation of coloureds in the Craven Rugby week

The Prime Minister read the signs and brought Dr Gerrit Viljoen, former AB chairman, into the Cabinet to counter the Treurnicht influence in the secret organisation.

The struggle behind the scenes was forced into the open this week by Sabra, an organisation formed and supported financially by the Broederbond and which since its formation has slavishly supported National Party policy "on scien-

tific grounds".

This week it rejected a National Party Prime Minister's policies out of hand.

The devastating effect this could have on rank-and-file Broeders had to be countered immediately.

An emergency meeting of the AB executive was called and a public statement issued through the media as fast as possible to stop the rot.

Professor Carel Boshoff, chairman of Sabra, had to resign as chairman of the Broederbond because he could no longer be seen as impartial.

Professor Boshoff and Sabra are now firmly in the ideological camp of Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party.

It would be naive to think he has been neutralised in the Broederbond.

He had enough support on the executive to retain his position and he is no longer shackled by the impartiality of the chairmanship and can propagate his views openly.

The most significant part of the Broederbond statement is the admission that the organisation is so divided that no clear-cut lead can be given to members.

Differences on the constitutional issue will be allowed with a view to reaching some agreement and "eventually" giving guidance to members.

This is not the first crisis the Broederbond has experienced, but it is by far the most serious.

Its role has always been to promote Afrikaner unity.

Political power meant avenues for advancement of Broederbond members and the implementation of Broeder-designed policies.

On this unity stands or falls Broederbond power.

It was for this reason that a massive effort to reconcile the various Afrikaner factions was launched in the Forties.

It succeeded and resulted in the 1948 Nationalist-Afrikaner Party election victory.

## New oath

But victory was achieved not only by bringing Afrikaners together because they were Afrikaners. The rallying point was the political policy of separate development.

The next crisis occurred in 1969 when Dr Albert Hertzog and his followers accused Mr Vorster of deviating from the policy.

Although both groups consisted of staunch Afrikaners they could no longer live together in the same organisation.

This time the Broederbond leadership tackled the problem differently.

There was no hope of uniting the different factions.

The number of Hertzog supporters in the AB appeared to be relatively small and a new oath was forced on the members.

They were given a chance to leave the organisation or to undertake not to support the HNP.

Intimidation and a fear of losing the advantages of Broederbond membership played a role and only a few score members refused to take the new oath.

The new situation is entirely different.

It is impossible to reunite the two parties in the AB on the basis

of a common race policy — the differences are too deep.

Neither is it practical to expel all the Conservative supporters for they may be in the majority.

The alternatives are a paralysed organisation concentrating purely on cultural affairs and avoiding political issues — or a fight to the bitter end.

If this happened the winning faction would hijack the organisation and its funds and start building again on the basis of a much reduced membership.

Whatever the outcome, the Broederbond will never regain the power it has held for the past 40 years.

For South Africa, the breaking of the stranglehold of a secret society can only be beneficial.

## BOSHOFF DISCUSSES BROEDERBOND SPLIT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 Jul 83 p 7

[Interview with Professor Carel Boshoff, chairman of Sabra, former chief of the Afrikaner Broederbond, by Peter Sullivan; date and place not given]

### [Text]

Farmers near Hartbeespoort Dam, where the Broederbond had its secret headquarters, had a strange way of dealing with monkeys who stole their mealies.

They would capture one, paint it blue, and send it back to the Magaliesburg where the rest of the tribe would take fright and run away from it each time it tried to rejoin them.

Professor Carel Boshoff, who resigned this week as chief of the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB), laughs at the analogy.

"No," he says. "Any attempt to paint me blue and send me to the Magaliesburg will not succeed — because the Afrikaner knows that his people are involved in different areas and he has sufficient discretion to respect the individuality of each organisation."

He adds: "Therefore I find it laughable, this suggestion that I resign as leader of the Voortrekkers."

When he agreed to see me at his home on the outskirts of Pretoria, he said he wanted to clear up the matter of the Voortrekkers.

He is leader of the Scout-like movement and editorials in the Afrikaans Press have suggested he should resign.

He says he would not care if Dr van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, were elected leader of the Voortrekkers, because the Voortrekker congress could elect whomever it pleased.

"I would support him fully, as long as he did not try to force his political opinions on the children. That is not allowed," he says. Does he think the AB will now carry out a purge of

Does he think the AB will now carry out a purge of Conservative Party supporters as they did of Herstigte Nasionale Party supporters years ago?.

No. I am confident the AB will not try to force consensus about the constitutional proposals. It will

create a climate for its members to debate and reason with each other about a new constitution."

He views as his major achievement during the time he served as AB chief the fact that he made it a place where Afrikaners could put their standpoints to each other without people being driven out.

It seems ironic that he has been driven out for supporting a condemnation of the constitution prepared by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra).

Even that he understands.

"As chairman of the AB I was its public spokesman. Only the chairman may speak publicly and, because the chairman is therefore identified with the AB, it became difficult for me to advance a standpoint without it being identified with the AB."

He says it is the responsibility of the AB to bring about the most enlightened electorate possible, so that it can make the right decisions.

He is not willing to say which way people should vote in the referendum but his known opposition to the Government's constitutional plan points towards a negative vote from him.

He also refuses to say which political party he supports — unless it is regarded as "off the record".

A suggestion that he is still a member of the National Party merely receives a smile.

Professor Boshoff, in his role as chairman of Sabra, will now research the principles he believes should be applied to a constitution.

He defends the Government's long-standing subsidy of Sabra by saying it provided scientific research into relations between the races — but this defence is not convincing.

Having the subsidy cut off by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, a former AB chairman, rankles.

"Research on the constitution was not done with that money — we are using the Government money to look at things such as urbanisation, decentralisation and consolidation.

"If the Department of National Education wants to take the money away from us now, what does that

say for the other bodies it subsidises?

"Does it mean the Human Sciences Research Council and the Africa Institute will have their subsidies withdrawn if they dare to say anything against the Government?

"Must they research only what has positive findings for the Government?" he asks.

"If they describe as politics our scientific principles for judging the constitution, I don't see how they can say the published principles for education are not political," he says.

Professor Boshoff has a great respect for Mr P W Botha.

"I have a high regard for him and support him 100 percent, especially for the way he has implemented policy regarding blacks."

And Dr Andries Treurnicht?

"Dr Treurnicht is a person with whom I have a good relationship - but no greater than normal."

"I am convinced of his integrity and he is clearly a man who sticks to his principles," Professor Boshoff says.

The impression left after an interview with Professor Boshoff is of the very reasonableness of the man who became a leading figure among Afrikanerdom's secret elite.

3400/1686 CSO:

## IMPLICATIONS OF BROEDERBOND SPLIT EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 Jul 83 p 6

[Article by Peter Sullivan]

#### [Text]

There are fascinating implications in the change this week of the chieftainship of the Afrikaner Broederbond.

Trying to discover what happens in this super-secret so-called "cultural" organisation has always been like following the plot of a spy thriller.

For South Africans, the sinister menace and secret mysteriousness of the AB made James Bond look like its little brother, and the tentacles of Octopussy (from his latest film) certainly could never hope to penetrate the depths of social and political life of the nation like the AB has done.

One needs some history to see this week's shuffling in perspective.

There are four personalities involved who have all occupied the chieftainship — Professor Carel Boshoff, newly-axed, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who masterminded the axing, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who was ousted from the job by Dr Viljoen some time back, and Professor JP de Lange, the new incumbent.

Once every two years the AB holds a "bonderaad," a gathering of the clan to discuss policy, strategy, and the election of office-bearers.

There are those who say this meeting also decides the future policy of government in South Africa, instructing the Cabinet what path to follow. This is stretching things a bit, but there is no doubt it has a

profound influence on government thinking.

At the last Bondsraad, the AB broke its traditional secrecy to issue a statement confirming that Professor Boshoff had once again been elected chairman.

This was a start of the loosening of the secrecy surrounding the AB, a secrecy journalists have always seemed to get through.

That Bondsraad, held in October last year, was to be the great battle-ground between Mr P W Botha's ideas and those of Dr Treurnicht.

Both men were invited to address it, but only Mr Botha took up the offer. Dr Treurnicht said this week he thought it was unseemly to get two people who had clashed so violently in public to appear on the same platform.

This was neither the style nor the function of the AB, he said, and he still believed his decision had been right not to address the meeting.

Asked whether he did not feel Mr Botha had managed to swing the AB behind him, Dr Treurnicht said the AB had only decided not to take a positive decision on the constitutional proposals.

At the time Dr Treurnicht warned that should it decide to take sides on the constitutional issue, it would be split from top to bottom.

That split is now happening, for Professor Boshoff's decision to endorse the condemnation by the

South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) of the Government's proposed constitution is seen as little short of treason, given his undertaking to the AB that Sabra, of which he is chairman, would not delve in constitutional matters.

Professor Boshoff was given the choice this week of resigning from Sabra or resigning from the AB. He chose the latter.

The AB's function was to maintain Afrikaner unity, he said, while at Sabra he would be able to follow his principles in a scientific atmosphere.

Now, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of National Education and onetime Broederbond chief and Rector of RAU, has withdrawn the Government's R70 000 subsidy to Sabra.

Some time ago, Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, stopped the appalling subsidising of Sabra by black Administration Boards, following an expose in the Press.

Dr Koornhof said in Pretoria this week: "It was because, if I remember correctly, Sabra's research and work had more to do with whites than with blacks, so we stopped the subsidies from Administration Boards."

Denying that Sabra has political overtones is absurd. I attended one of their "youth camps," which was simply an indoctrination into the ideas of separate development.

And the sheer cheek of using money from black rentals to subsidise an organisation that preached apartheid is what horrified those who objected at the time to the Administration's Board's subsidy.

Had Sabra supported the National Party's view, no doubt taxpayers from all political parties would have had to continue subsidising it.

Labelling Sabra a National Party "think tank" may have been true

some years ago, but the organisation had for some time been on the right fringe of the party. When Dr Treurnicht hived off, Sabra was already alienated from the regime of Mr P W Botha.

DEMISE OF BROEDERBOND 'WELCOMED,' SAYS ADVERTISER

Kimberley DIAMOND FIELDS ADVERTISER in English 8 Jul 83 p 17

[Editorial]

[Text]

TT IS OF LITTLE interest to most South Africans whether the Broederbond splits, breaks up or disappears in a puff of smoke. If anything, most would probably welcome the demise of this organisation.

Many believe, in fact, that it has done great damage to South Africa; that in promoting the 'Super Afrikaner' to Government controlled positions wherever possible, it has steadily eroded the interest of the English-speaking community in government service at all. Not to mention the effect of its beliefs in race relations.

Professor Carel Boshoff, chairman of Sabra and of the Broederbond, found the two positions incompatible, not being the country's greatest verligte, and resigned from the Bond to be replaced by Professor J. P. de Lange, whose highly respected report on education shows him to be at least a more enlightened man.

No doubt he will support the new constitution, where Professor Boshoff could not, and perhaps the Broederbond will use its muscle to promote the Government's plans — as it has done for 35 years. (Of course, if it did not

support the Government it would probably have been banned, since it would have posed too formidable a threat.)

Certainly the change in chairmanship indicates a degree of Afrikaner disunity that may well jeopardise its political influence, a result which we can only applaud.

The split in Afrikanderdom is healthy for South Africa. It shows at the very least a questioning of the premises on which the political direction of the country has been based since 1948.

It shows a movement in the logjam, a movement which could signal a return to reality.

If Professor Boshoff's resignation will offer a freer reign to this movement, well and good. If the Broederbond itself should be destroyed, well and good.

To the degree that it is pro Afrikaner, it is anti-South African because it has promoted one group at the expense of all others and in the process has helped to sow discord not only between white and black, but between white and white. It has no place in South Africa today.

## ERNEST DIKGANG MOSENEKE CONGRATULATED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 22 Jul 83 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text] WE WOULD like to consider ourselves privileged to be among the first to congratulate Mr Ernest Dikgang Moseneke, after his hard fought triumph in being the first black to become an advocate in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

> His triumph is the climax to a story of hard work and great suffering, including a long spell on Robben Island. The ironic twist of justice which almost relegated this former Robben Island prisoner to the status of a "foreigner" in South Africa had its crowning when he was admitted to the Bar in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

He made contact with the law in his rather dramatic way some 20 years ago in the same court when he was sentenced to ten years for sabotage.

The young Dikgang, as he is fondly called by friends, converted his confinement into academic pursuits obtaining through private study with the University of South Africa (Unisa) his BA, B Juris and LLB.

On his release he applied for admission as an attorney in the same Supreme Court where he was ironically declared a "foreigner" by the stroke of a pen when Bophuthatswana went' independent. As a Tswana speaking South African he

was made a national of Bophuthatswana almost overnight.

The battle has gone on about halfway through for this very talented son of a high school principal.

He has somewhat reached the top by now, but it is on the cards that this is hardly the end of the road for him. He is most certainly going to forge ahead and those who know him say he could easily make more history in his career by crashing even more rarefied territory.

There is no doubt that he deserves all this. He is an unassuming man, modest almost to a fault about his accomplishments and in his relationship with others. He is known, however to be a formidable force in court as witness the number of people who flocked to his Pretoria offices to be represented. He will start his four months pupilage in Johannesburg making him the second black practising advocate in the Transvaal.

The legal profession like most disciplines in this country is very tough territory for the black practitioner. Things might become even more difficult for the likes of Mr Moseneke, as advocates have to be briefed by attorneys.

Their experience is that most attorneys have their select advocates who they always brief and it takes

courage and exceptional talent for one to crash the monopoly, if that be the right word. We have no doubt with his talents Dikgang will find a way in which to do this. In fact we go even further as we predict his unstoppable flight into even higher positions in the legal profession. This cannot have happened to a better man and we heartily congratulate him.

CSO: 3400/1686

# DISQUIETING UNREST IN SOWETO NOTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Jul 83 p 6

## [Editorial]

[Text] THE past fortnight's unrest in Soweto is disquieting.

According to the police, the trouble is being caused by agitators, who are whipping up feelings against White teachers in Black high schools and intimidating pupils.

The trouble started when pupils at a secondary school in Soweto boycotted classes because of the appointment of a White principal. The school was then closed.

Unrest spread to another school when pupils boycotted classes because three White teachers had replaced Black teachers who had earlier resigned.

Pupils at the two schools held a meeting at a church. Afterwards, the police used teargas to disperse 200 of them, who were marching towards the old Potchefstroom Road.

The pupils then gathered into smaller groups, which were dispersed when the police used sjamboks.

By Friday, Soweto schools were quiet, with

most pupils attending classes.

The same day there was a clash at a secondary school in Tembisa, near Kempton Park, but it appears that this incident, in which 700 pupils ran amok, smashing windows in the school's administration block and trying to set other school buildings on fire, had nothing to do with the Soweto unrest.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for Soweto, Brigadier Jacobs, says the unrest at the Soweto schools was instigated and organised.

"The organisers' theme has been that White teachers, who make up a large percentage of teachers at the high schools, should be replaced by Black ones."

This was an impossible request, as there was not the Black manpower available.

According to reports in the liberal Press, Black pupils believe the majority of White teachers are at schools for political reasons.

Among the grievances listed are claims that White teachers are more incompetent than generally acknowledged, yet are promoted sooner than Black teachers; that many Whites have no teachers' diplomas or degrees; and that White teachers represent and serve the interests of the Government and were introduced to teach Blacks not to question authority.

All of which is pretty ridiculous.

White teachers are in Black schools because there are not enough Black teachers.

It is as simple as that.

There are suggestions that the tension is such that any small incident could spark off a chain reaction similar to the '76 student riots.

We hope not.

Important advances have been made in Black education; the reported grievances are patently lacking in substance.

Besides, neither Soweto nor its schools and their pupils can afford a replay of the 1976 riots.

The Department of Education and Training must avoid the build-up of tensions which can be exploited by agitators; the police must ensure, without being heavy-handed towards pupils, that agitation is rooted out.

Above all, parents must do their utmost to ensure that their children attend school and concentrate on their education, for without proper schooling, as many of the '76 demonstrators learnt to their cost, young Blacks cannot make use of the opportunities that lie ahead of them.

LABOR PARTY OFFICIAL EXAMINES RACIAL ISSUE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Jul 83 p 11

[Article by Mr David Curry, national chairman of the Labor Party]

[Text] The present fight in the ranks of Afrikanerdom is nothing new. The reason for the infighting is the inability of white South Africa to find a solution to the so-called problem of co-

> It is a historical fact that slavery was one of the main roots that led to the establishment of the coloured group.

> Many coloured people came from slavery - and slavery, more or less, has shaped and re-shaped the personality of all South Africans, particularly whites.

> Because slaves were men of colour and slave-masters were white, a new social structure was created. The South African structure was born with a congenital defect.

Racism became a way of life and all values in this country were governed by the colour of a man's skin.

Afrikaners were slaveowners and colour became their yardstick, and so our so-

cial patterns were formed. People will say that slavery ended more than a century ago; but though the song has ended, the melody (or, for that matter,

the malady) lingers on. Racism is a learnt response. We learn it at home. In this country we do not live up to our ideals but according to our habits, and our habits are racial ones.

Coloured people share the same culture as whites. They are Western, they speak Western languages, belong to the same churches - and yet they have never been accepted by whites because racism is still deeply rooted in our society.

Some whites find it difficult to accept coloureds as people. This is what the fight in Afrikanerdom is about: how to bring the coloured people near, but not too near.

The apartheid policy became the method by which racism became institutionalised and was one of the keys that opened the door for the National Party to win the general election in 1948.

We are a minority group in terms of numbers. And yet, Afrikanerdom is splitting because of us.

The Conservative Party was founded not because of blacks but because of the colour question. Afrikaners are constantly reminded that no person of colour can share in the white man's power structure.

The colour question became one of the reasons for the Great Trek. No person of colour had voting rights in the old republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, only persons of European descent could sit in Parliament.

When the Nats came to power, they made sure we were taken from every voters' roll at national and local level.

It is the problem of colour that has made South Africa the pole-cat of the world. It is this problem that will keep South

Africa out of the international sports arena.

Racism is found in other parts of the world, but in our case it became law.

Apartheid is the biggest threat to the future security of

South Africa. In the real fight against communism, white South Africa will have to give up its racism so as to win the battle for black minds.

It is this moving away from racism that is causing the split in Afrikanerdom. Petty apartheid to many Afrikaners is not petty - it is the foundation on which grand apartheid is built. The removal of racial laws is to them the beginning of integration. Apartheid is the wall they need to keep up the Afrikaner power structure.

We will carry on the fight against apartheid. We refuse to carry on apologising for our existence.

You can truly put a lable on us: Made in South Africa. We did not come to Africa by boat. In 1652 Jan van Riebeeck met our ancestors on the shores of Table Bay.

The fight against the "system" will continue as far as we are concerned. We might quarrel and fight about the methods or the strategy to reach our goal of removing apartheid. But there is no argument about the destruction of racism, the removal of this stigma from our society.

Afrikanerdom will be forced to implement real change.

#### DANGERS OF NEWLY PROPOSED BLACK TRANSPORT POLICY NOTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Jul 83 p 10

[Article by Conrad Berge]

[Text] Bus operation in South Africa is dominated by whites. The users are overwhelmingly black.

The reaction of the "white" Welgemoed Commission on bus passenger transportation to this stark fact was to deplore the "politicisation" of bus transportation. Yet the very policy it now suggests hopelessly politicises the issue.

The commission recommends long-term phasing out of subsidies, banning kombi taxis altogther and, at the same time, depoliticising the issue. The commission's fear of politicisation is clearly justified.

A likely scenario: buse fares becoming rapidly more expensive, the option of black-owned microbus transport removed and the inevitable striving for personal freedom in the form of the motor car frustrated by an incurable shortage of road space in and out of the townships.

No doubt in line with its concept of depoliticisation the commission recommends an elaborate structure of "autonomous" agencies to control the bus industry. This includes the National Transport Commission (NTC), Regional Road Transportation Boards and Regional Transport Co-ordinating Boards.

The prospect that one day the bulk of bus users might influence operators through the normal channels of representative government seems very dim. One detects a reluctance to face up to the demands of a democracy.

The original purpose of establishing autonomous agencies ("boards") was to remove specialist activities from the general function of government departments and the prejudices of the party in power.

In the case of bus transportation these agencies are being used to accommodate highly controversial activities which are the subject of intensely political control. This control is inaccessible to meaningful debate by elected representatives and the public.

The Welgemoed Commission went so far as to suggest that bus transportation be declared a "strategic" industry. The implications for open and free coverage of the industry by the media are obvious.

Almost ironically the Commission revealed the value it places upon the autonomy of the proposed agencies by first recommending that the NTC retain the responsibility of high level formulation of broad policy and then proceeding to recommend what large sections of that policy should be.

In recommending the banning of microbus taxis the commission pre-empted the discretion of the proposed Regional Road Transportation Boards.

The appointment of the commission was premature. How can anyone solve an issue which centres upon the sentiment of blacks where there is no proper channel for that sentiment? This leads automatically to the whole

question of a new constitutional dispensation.

What can be done?

Bus transportation cannot be separated from the creation of appropriate democratic administration. The bus transportation issue is a classic example of the type of problem a new constitution is trying to solve. It inevitably contains the clues to a solution.

- First, the wrong intention behind delegating control of buses to autonomous agencies must be acknowledged and the work handed over to government departments, where it can be frankly identified with the Government and debated openly as such.
- Second, this work must be distributed to all three tiers of government.

While the first and third tiers already have departments of transport, the introduction of such departments in provincial administrations would accommodate much of the work of the proposed Regional Transport Co-operation Boards and offset the traditional bias of provincial administrations towards extravagant highways and car commuting generally.

In the urgency to find a new constitutional dispensation not enough thought has been given to preserving and adjusting the existing three-tier system.

● Third, the multi-chamber interim system of government must include blacks and be extended to all three tiers.

## SHORTAGE OF HELIPORTS SLOWS SALES

# Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 Jul 83 p 11

[Text]

HELICOPTER sales are presently moving slowly in line with the rest of the aviation scene. They are being constrained by the recession and the flat refusal of some of the biggest municipalities in the country to allow helicopters in the city centre.

The refusal to allow heliports in city centres is completely against the trend. It has been proved that, although helicopters may cost more to operate, they are the most economic form of transport for distances of up to about 300 km.

The rider is that it must be easy to get to them from an office — and most offices are in the CBD.

The original reason for not allowing central heliports is no longer really valid. Originally the city fathers were, quite rightly, afraid of equipment failure over built-up areas, but this is no longer a real cause for concern, because the third generation of helicopters, all safer and many fitted with two engines, are now coming on to the market.

Cor Beek, executive director of the Commercial Aviation Association of Southern Africa, agrees with this summary of events.

"We have the potential in the equipment, but the community is not willing to make use of it until they are sitting in a car and screaming: "Why does one have to travel so far to get a helicopter?"

"The helicopter fills a gap as a corporate aircraft, and that is where its potential really lies, in the corporate field, but only up to distances of about 300 km.

"It is not really worthwhile using fixed-wing aircraft for distances of less than 300 km if one takes into account the time it takes to get to an airport and all the delays, such as for security checks.

"Even if one goes by car it is possible to cover 300 km in a little over three hours."

He said that in South Africa helicopters and heliports have become a target for environmentalists who object to the noise they make and question their safety. However, the newer generation of helicopters are less noisy.

"The total nuisance value of helicopters is now not unacceptable to any community. It may have been difficult for the small group of helicopter users to defend them a few years ago, but they are much easier to defend today."

Mr Beek said there were some "brave municipalities,"

such as Roodepoort, that did not allow helicopters to take off and land close enough to the city centre to be of use to commerce.

"The industry would dearly love to see public helicopters established in the centres of Johannesburg and
Pretoria. That is where the
business is and that is what
would boost sales," he said.

"Johannesburg does have a public heliport south of the M2, but one has to get into a car to get to it.

"Once the businessman gets into his car he may as well travel to Jan Smuts or Rand Airport. It doesn't take that much longer.

"To be of any use, a heliport must be within walking distance of the city."

Many third generation helicopters will be on show at the annual air show to be held early in October.

Among the machines that will probably make their official debut will be the German Bolkow 117, and the Sikorsky 76 Mark II.

One of the world's top authorities on helicopters, whose name is being withheld at the moment, will also come out for the show to lecture on helicopters and, hopefully, to persuade several municipalities that helicopters belong in city centres.

NATION MUST GROW MORE FOOD, BUSINESSMAN CLAIMS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 15 Jul 83 p 14

[Article by Simon Willson]

## [Text]

PRODUCTIVITY in the agricultural sector would have to rise dramatically to meet the demands of the South African population for food in the next few years, said Mr Francis le Riche, deputy chairman of Sentrachem.

He said at a meeting of the South African-German Chamber of Trade and Industry in Johannesburg that drought and recession did nothing to change the requirements made of South Africa's agricultural sector.

"The demands of the future are that we have to double

milk production merely to meet ordinary standards of nutrition.

"Production of beef will have to rise from 600 000 tons to 800 000 tons a year, and production of lamb and mutton will have to double.

"Egg production will have to rise from 2 400 000 dozen to 5 700 000 dozen a year if standards are to be met."

The agricultural sector was ill-prepared to meet the challenges. Barely 20% of South Africa's farmers produced 80% of the products which were in short supply. "We have a terrible back-

log in educational standards on our farms. Only 15% of the white agricultural population has been educated to ma tric level, and among black agricultural employees stan-

dards are much worse.

"There are 1 300 000 black employees on our farms and there is no way we will reach the necessary standards of production if we do not pay more attention to our own education."

The United States needed the productive equivalent of 2½ people in its agricultural sector to feed 1000 people. West Germany and Britain needed about four people's production a 1 000.

"The Soviet Union needs the production of 60 of its agricultural workers a 1 000 of its population.

"There is no directly comparable figure for South Africa because of differences in our agricultural structure, but I know our figure would be even worse than the Soviet Union's bad agricultural productivity.

"There have been improvements in South African agricultural technology, but there is still terrific room for improvement."

### DISMISSED BRITS STEEL WORKERS PRESS FOR REINSTATEMENT

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 Jul 83 p 9

[Article by Anton Harber]

[Text] · EVERY day for the last 10 months 249 workers at Brits have gathered to discuss their dismissal from a

steel factory. They have sold all their possessions, including their livestock, and have become relient on relatives and friends to keep them and their families alive.

They have had to take their children out of creches and schools and, in some case, send them away to relatives who will look after them.

But they have been locked in a dispute with B & S Steel Furniture Company since an incident in the Brits plant on September 7 last year and - in an unprecedented show of resilience and unity — have refused to give up their fight for reinstatement.

Earlier this year, they de-clared a dispute at the Industrial Council. But the deadlock was not broken.

This week they instituted an action at the Industrial Court, asking for an order declaring their dismissal unfair and unlawful and reinstating them to their iobs.

They also claimed R850 000 in back pay and costs for the legal action.

Since the costs are likely to be extremely high, the claim against the company could to nearly amount R1 000 000.

The case could be crucial to labour law, because it is by far the highest claim ever to be made before the court and because the court has never before faced a demand for retroactive reinstatement of as many as 249 workers.

The case could determine whether the court is prepared to award such large amounts and reinstate so many workers.

There have also been allegations that the practices which the union has claimed were illegal are common in outlying areas such as Brits.

If the court agrees with them, the case could be a first step in stopping such practices.

According to papers before the court, the Metal and Allied Workers' (Mawu) has claimed that workers from the factory began approaching them for help in April last year.

Within two months, they had organised 35% of the factory.

Although Mawu had not yet asked for recognition, management learnt of their organising efforts and allegedly made intensive efforts to stop them.

For example, there were repeated searches of people suspected of carrying recruiting forms.

Two workers have said the managing director offered them extra pay if they spied for him. He wanted to find out who the union activists were so that they

could be "kicked out" of the factory

When a shop stewards' committee was elected, the 12 members were summarily dismissed.

According to Mawu, they were the only people dismissed that day. The reagiven son retrenchment.

A work stoppage occurred in an attempt to get the 12 workers reinstated. After negotiations, they were reinstated on condition they did not serve on any committees.

Meetings and negotiations with management continued, with some success.

But, according to Mawu, management's attitude changed when the shop stewards asked for the union to be recognised.

Management are alleged to have made a number of efforts to erode the influence of the union by threatening workers with dismissal be-

cause of their union membership.

At a meeting about the dismissal of a worker, the managing director said "he was the boss and would do what he liked," according to Mawu's submission to the court.

"It was his factory and from then on there would be no more committee.

The next day, September 7, management turned off all the machines 10 minutes after starting time and informed the workers they were all dismissed and would have to reapply for their jobs.

No reasons were given and management allegedly refused to talk to the shop stewards committee about the action.

Management then re-employed only people who had not joined the union, according to Mawu. Some 600 re-applied and 400

Some 600 re-applied and 400 were accepted. The 249 who have instituted the court action have never reapplied.

Because Brits is a small business community, Mawu said, the chances of workers finding jobs elsewhere in the town were small.

But, to add to this, management allegedly "took active steps to blight their prospects of employment elsewhere".

Mawu has claimed that the company sought to use the influx control law to prevent workers from getting work elsewhere.

They also claimed that the dismissals constituted vic-

timisation, were in breach of the workers' individual contracts and in breach of an Industrial Council agreement.

The company failed to give the workers a proper hearing and failed to negotiate properly with worker representatives. The purpose was to rid themselves of a union presence, Mawu claimed.

Mr H Back, the managing director, yesterday rejected the union's story and said he would be contesting the case.

"It is impossible to deal in the Press with these complex legal and factual allegations.

"We consider that at all times we have behaved correctly and fairly towards our workers," he said.

For all this time, the workers have gathered every day, some coming from as far as 25km away.

When they ran out of money for their bus fares, they shared bus tickets and took turns to attend the meetings.

If they had been able to find other jobs during the 10month dispute, they would gladly have taken them, they have said. But there are no jobs in Brits.

are no jobs in Brits.

For a while they could live on their savings and on the money they made from selling their possessions. Now, according to one worker leader, they live on charity.

"Some of us do not eat properly and cannot feed our children like we used to," he said.

"Some of us have had to sell our goats and cattle and this was very difficult, as we sold them for very litte.

"We have come to realise what it is to sacrifice and stick together and to trust one another. Most of us were not aware of our rights.

"We learnt that by being alone nothing could happen and the only way was to stick together."

# INSECTS CONSIDERED THREAT TO MATIMBA POWER STATION

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 Jul 83 p 13

[Article by Simon Willson]

[Text] ONE OF the most urgent problems facing planners at Escom's R2 000-million Matimba power station is not security or the drought - but insects.

Matimba, Escom's first water-saving dry-cooled power station, due to start operating in 1986, is thought to be vulnerable to swarms of insects in the North Worth Worth insects in the North-Western Transvaal.

Instead of the traditional cooling towers, Matimba will have giant radiators to cool water from a sealed cooling system by heat exchange inwasteful stead evaporation.

But these radiators, covering an area of more than 900m2, will need 48 electric fans to cool the water in the

power station's system.

Planners fear that the fans' efficiency could be reduced, or the rotor blades even clogged, by insect swarms. The delicate cooling fins on

the radiators could also be damaged by insect deposits. The 100 ha power-station site will have to be lit at night, and insects will be attracted from the surrounding bush by the lights.

Under Matimba's present construction specifications the fans, each with a diameter of 8,3m, will have no screens around the rotor blades.

"I fear this problem," said Matimba's manager-designate, Mr Dries Struwig.

"It's a major headache because you can't clean off insect deposits easily without damaging delicate installa-tions like the radiator fins."

Matimba's susceptibility to insects is unique among Escom's power stations be-cause of its location on the coalfields of the North-Western Transvaal, and its technology, which requires untried fans and radiators.

Site planners are only now realising the potential insect threat to the power station and are working on several possible solutions

Mr Struwig said: "We must try to keep our outside lights to a minimum, and possibly try to lure insects away from the fan area by using other lights.'

Matimba will be the world's biggest dry-cooled power station with an output capability of 3 600 mW.

Construction is on schedule for the first generator set to be operational in September

Dry-cooled power stations use barely a third of the water used by conventional power stations.

Matimba expects to use only about 0,7 to 0,8 litres of water a kilowatt/hour of power generated compared with a wet-cooled station's 2,5 to 2,8 litres a kW/h.

Two other dry-cooled power stations are under construction — the Kendal plant in the Eastern Transvaal and the Majuba project in the Transvaal. South-Eastern

But because Matimba is the first dry-cooled station to be built on a large scale anywhere in the world, Escom officials say it will suffer from occasional problems simply because dry-cooling technology has never been applied to a project of this magnitude.

#### ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS SLAM COMMUNISM

# Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 12 Jul 83 p 2

[Text]

IN A move which might have important political repercussions, Lesotho's powerful Roman Catholic bishops yesterday issued a joint statement strongly condemning communism.

It comes at a time of growing controversy in Lesotho over the imminent establishment of embassies in Maseru by the Soviet Union, Communist China and North Korea, and the pending establishment of embassies next year by Yugoslavia and Rumania. The statement was interpreted by observers as a clear signal of disquiet in the Catholic Church over the scheduled arrival of communist diplomats — particularly as it was preceded by articles in the Catholic journal,

Moeletsi oa Basotho, openly critical of move to open communist embassies in Lesotho.

"We, Catholic bishops of Lesotho, are aware of the wrangle and dispute that has created confusion in the minds of many of our people after the Government of Lesotho established diplomatic relations with the governments of the great communists countries," the statement said.

"Therefore we felt bound to address ourselves to you in order to dispel this confusion from our Christian faithful."

The bishops reaffirmed the

The bishops reaffirmed the church's opposition to communism as an ideology which "attacks the existence of God, violently attacks religion and oppresses man . ."
Signed by Archbishop Al-

phonsus Morapel of Maseru, Bishop Paul Khoarai of Leribe, Bishop Sebastain Khoarai of Mohale's Hoek and Bishop Evaristus Bitsoane of Qacha's Nek, the statement identifed "apartheid and rigid capitalism" as equally repugnant as communism.

About 40% of Lesotho's population of more than 1 200 000 are Catholics and the statement is almost certain to reinforce those already opposed to the arrival of communist diplomats.

of communist diplomats.

The Roman Catholic Church has generally been supportive of the ruling Basotho National Party, whose leader, Chief Leabua Jonathan, was seen as a moderate pragmatist during the 1965 and 1970 elections.

'AFRICA--NOT SOVIETS--IS THE DANGER' BARRATT CLAIMS:

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 12 Jul 83 p 2

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

THE real danger in Southern Africa lies less in the presence of Soviét embassies in neighbouring countries than in the growing conflict of the sub-continent and the opportunities it offers for exploi-tation by the Soviet Union, Professor John Barratt, director-general of the SA Institute of International Affairs, said yesterday.

He was commenting on a speech at the weekend by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, in which the Minister accused Moscow of using its embassies to promote revolution to "enslave the whole globe

After referring to the establishment of Soviet embassies in Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe and the pending establishment of one in Lesotho, Gen Malan said: "They indulge in the planned destabilisation of Southern Africa.

He went on: "They use terrorism for this purpose and back it with a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign to gain international

support for their activities."
Prof Barratt agreed that Soviet KGB agents used their embassies to promote Soviet power and influence in Southern Africa and that there was a need to be on the alert against their machinations.

"But the real answer is to reduce the level of conflict and remove the opportunity for Soviet exploitation," he said.

He added that Moscow was not alone in using purported embassy personnel to promote its ends.

"Other countries in the West are also known to use their embassies for this purpose to some extent and that could be used (by their enemies and rivals) as a pretext to exclude them from Southern Africa.

"But every sovereign country has the right to establish diplomatic ties with any state

that it wishes.
"We cannot object to a Soviet diplomatic presence in neighbouring territories any more than a Soviet-inclined country can object to a Western embassy in a neighouring country.

Recalling that South Africa had diplomatic ties with the UDI Rhodesian government of Mr Ian Smith, Prof Barratt said: "We in South Africa have always maintained that we have the right to determine our own diplomatic relations. We must recognise the right of our

of the Soviet presence in Botswana, he said: "Botswana has had relations with the Soviet Union for some time. I am not aware that it has caused the disruption referred to by General Malan.'

On the pending establishment of embassies in Lesotho by the Soviet Union and Communist China, Prof Barratt said: "If Lesotho expects meaningful help from these countries, it is misinformed. Lesotho occupies a

low priority on their list of interests and it will remain dependent on South Africa.'

## SUNFLOWER OIL ACCEPTED BY DIESEL-MAKER

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 11 Jul 83 p 12

[Article by Simon Willson]

[Text]

SUNFLOWER oil for diesel engines has come a step closer with a South African dieselengine manufacturer's acceptance of its use.

Industry observers said the formal acceptance of sunflower oil made South Africa a world leader in the development of alternative diesel

Deutz Dieselpower makes diesel engines in Maritzburg in a venture with the Blue Circle group. Deutz is a subsidiary of Klockner-Humboldt-Deutz (KHD) of West Germany, the world's largest manufacturer of air-cooled diesel engines.

KHD said that full warranties would be recognised on Deutz indirect injection engines using sunflower oil instead of diesel fuel. It was the world's first major diesel-engine manufacture to sanction sunflower oil in its products.

The acceptance of sunflower oil follows a threeyear research programme by the Department of Agriculture and KHD's research and development centre in Cologne, West Germany.

Experiments found that conventional, direct-injection diesel engines developed

an unacceptable carbon build-up when running on sunflower oil. Conventional engines would run only on a sunflower oil mixture containing 15% alcohol.

But indirect-injection diesel engines prevented the carbon build-up, making the substitution of 100% sunflower oil economic.

The company said the 12 000 Deutz industrial diesel engines now used throughout South Africa would run on sunflower oil with no modification, and would retain the manufacturer's warranty.

The 8 000 Deutz-Fahr tractors in operation in South Africa used engines which would need slight modification—"at insignificant cost".

Mr Chris Crosby, director of the Department of Agriculture's agricultural engineering division, said the oil glut made it unlikely that South African industry would convert to sunflower oil in diesel engines immediately.

"But at least that is now an option. Diesel fuel technology has made it possible for the Government to take a strategic or economic decision to use sunflower oil if necessary."

About 90% of South Africa's agricultural and industrial diesel engines used direct fuel injection and could run only on a sunflower-alcohol mixture.

Modifications to the engines to indirect-injection would enable them to run on sunflower oil.

"Research is being undertaken throughout the world with a variety of vegetable oils, but South Africa continues to be a world leader in this field," Mr Crosby said.

Mr Kevin Clarke, Deutz's marketing director, said sunflower oil was 10% to 15% more expensive than diesel fuel, but diesel fuel's cost advantage would disappear if sunflower oil was produced on a large scale and the Government diesel fuel subsidy was withdrawn.

Deutz recently announced a R10-million expansion of its Maritzburg plant as part of a programme to increase local content of engines to 70%.

The company's tractor engines are still imported from Germany pending official approval of the installation of the SA unit.

The Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr P T Du Plessis, said at a demonstration of sunflower-powered tractors in Pretoria that it was Government poli-

cy to reach a maximum 15% to 20% alcohol and plant-oil contribution to national liquid-fuel requirements.

Government incentives would encourage the private sector to replace diesel fuel. Duties would give petroleum substitutes an advantage of about 4c a litre over fuel made from imported crude oil.

Mr Bodo Liebe, Colognebased chairman of KHD, said the sunflower research project with the Department of Agriculture was his company's most successful project to date.

"As we are involved in South Africa by holding an interest in the production of Deutz diesel engines and tractors, we feel obliged to transfer our know-how to our South African partners.

"I would be glad if my Government would play a bigger part in assisting South Africa than it has over the past 10 to 15 years."

KHD is also researching the use of fuels like woodgas, ethanol and methanol, and has a woodgas test programme under way at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in Pretoria.

## NATION'S NEW 'COUNTER-OFFENSIVE' BACKED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Jul 83 p 6

## [Editorial]

[Text] SOUTH Africa has abandoned the laager as defeatist and inflexible and is now on the counter-offensive.

This is the view of the London publication, the Economist, and if we are to judge by the tougher attitude being shown towards our neighbours, there may be some truth in it.

According to the Economist, South Africa's foreign policy is now built on the reality of the country's military and foreign power.

"The new South Africa refuses to apologise for anything, let alone apartheid. It spurns the 'cocktail diplomacy' of past and present Foreign Ministers.

"It is built on the reality of South Africa's military and economic power, particularly towards the increasingly chaotic frontline States.

"It argues that these States, and then the world, will have no option but to treat South Africa as decisive to their stability (or instability).

"Foreign policy should be flexible and amoral. The gun and the maize train will speak louder than a hundred speeches at the United Nations."

The publication claims that since 1980 the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Information has become not the formulator for foreign policy, but the mere executor of the decisions of the State Security Council (this is an assumption with which Mr Pik Botha, we are sure, will not agree).

A top British political journalist, Simon Jenkins, after a recent visit to South Africa, says "one thing seems to have altered dramatically in the past two years and that is South Africa's approach to the outside world.

"The defensiveness has gone. It is replaced by a new aggression.

"The era of seeking friends by sweet persuasion is over... The new philosophy is amoral and brutal. It emanates from a military rather than a political perspective.

"It states that South Africa is wealthy, comparatively stable and capable of exerting considerable power beyond its borders.

"As the Black States of Southern Africa discover that Marxism means poverty and chaos, so South Africa emerges from the laager of diplomatic apologetics and stands revealed as a sub-continental superpower."

Jenkins says the new dominance of the State Security Council over the Cabinet and of soldiers over civilians has brought *real-politik* into foreign affairs...

"Pre-emption, pro-active defence, tit-for-tat destabilisation, call it what you will, has driven the Black States into treating with South Africa."

Both the Economist and Jenkins naturally see South Africa from the viewpoint of outsiders, but in the main they do not appear to be wrong in suggesting South Africa has adopted a more incisive policy.

We ourselves have described it as a policy of getting tough with neighbours who harbour ANC terrorists, as borne out by the military raids on Maputo and Maseru and the warnings given by the Minister of Defence about the consequences to their countries if terrorists continue to use them as springboards for attacks on us.

There is, naturally, a danger that an aggressive policy in the sub-continent may draw in outside forces and help destabilise the area, no

matter how much the military and Govern-

ment protest that this is not their intention.

We call it the Israeli Option — hit terrorists hard in the bases they use in adjoining coun-

It has helped Israel to survive — but it has not brought peace to Israel and the Middle East.

We wonder whether similar toughness by our

own military will help to resolve our sub-continent's problems.

But for the present, it is making our neighbours jittery and in a more receptive mind and that is not a bad thing.

But in the long term, like everything else about the sub-continent, what will happen is less predictable.

## RESERVE BANK SEES RAND AS SECURE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Jul 83 p 25

[Text]

THERE is little reason to expect the rand to fall as a consequence of the weekend announcement by the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard de Kock, that the gold mines will, within the next two to three months, receive payment for their gold output in US dollars instead of rand, Standard Bank says in its latest International Comment.

The bank says that at this stage there is no clarity on how the Reserve Bank will operate in the new environment.

The situation is quite unlikely the February 7 abolition of the financial rand, the bank says. The proposal will merely change the source of gold-earned dollars and not the magnitude. In any event, these dollars would only be a fraction of the total inter-bank volume in the rand/dollar exchange market and thus any distortions would be ironed out.

Despite the pending change then, the spot rand exchange rate would continue to be determined by the gold price, by the strength of the US dollar, by capital outflows and by the anti-inflation policy of the Government.

The stability of the gold price (each downtick stops at a slightly higher level), prospects of a weaker dollar in the near term, the balancing of capital outflows by the encouragement of short term inflows (through manipulating the forward margin and thus lowering the cost of covered offshore finance) and the firmer trade weighted value of the rand (which keeps down the cost of imports) and the firmer trade weighted value of the rand (which keeps down the cost of imports) all suggest that the weakness of the rand should be arrested shortly.

# BUSINESS CYCLE 'GETTING DOWN TO THE LOWER TURNING POINT'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Jul 83 p 25

[Text] THERE are signs that the South African economy is proaching the lower turning point in the business cycle, the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch reports.

In the latest edition of its opinion survey the BER predicts in its overview of the economy that the imbalance existing in the labour market between skilled and unskilled workers will cause businessmen once again to struggle with a shortage of skilled workers once the economy begins to revive.

The overview led to the conclusion that the national economy, and more specifically commerce and industry, was still in the downward phase of the business cycle.

"There are however signs, such as slow increases in exports and the continued low imports, that the country is steadily approaching the lower turning point of the cycle," the BER says.

In the short term it appeared that sales of merchants would remain low in the next quarter and that the savings ratio would not improve much.

The merchants' position would indirectly impinge on industry so that further reductions in output were possible.

"Conditions are such that unemployment will probably increase, but the inflation rate could de-cline slightly," the BER forecast for the coming quarter.

It noted with interest that investment in residential houses (about R360-million) for the period January to April had risen by almost 30 percent over 1982 and the total units (7 764) by 6,6 percent over the same period last year.

There was reason to believe that the sharp demand for residential buildings correlated with the ever high inflation rate.

Intentions to invest, as implied by the value of building plans passed, portrayed a more sombre picture as regards nonresidential buildings.

The plans, valued at R362,9-million, approved the January-April quarter, reflected a 16,1 percent fall off from the 1982 period.

The high inflation rate, like interest rates, re-

businessmen strained from investing at present, the BER says.

'The high inflation rate probably not only leads to a direct reduction in buying power, but also causes a great deal to be channelled into housing, in other words away from consumer goods."

Looking at the position of South Africa's main trading partners, the BER notes that there could be no doubt about the economic revival on the go in the United States but notes that there is uncertainty over the inherent strength of the revival with many commentators being of the opinion that interest rates which are too high and a large budget deficit will restrain the revival.

The relatively sluggish revival in the US had also dampened the economies of the United Kingdom and the Continent.

"The South African economy has for a considerable time been in a contractionary phase and will, as expected, not improve significantly before the end of 1983, that is not before its export earnings increase markedly on account of stronger foreign demand." - Sapa.

POLICE ARREST LEADING SOWETO PRIESTS, STUDENTS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 21 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by Mono Badela]

[Text]

TWO leading Soweto priests and five university students were among those detained by Security Police on the eve of the D-Day set for the students of the strife-torn Ibhongo High School to report officially for readmission today.

They are the Rev Joe Seoka of St Hilda's Anglican Church in Sensoane and the Rev Steven Montjane of St Andrews Anglican Church in Pimyille.

The five students, all members of the national executive of the newly established Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) are Pule Manama, national organiser; Kenneth Mesime, a law student at Turfloop; Jake Hlapolosa, secretary general; Ms Monhla Hlahla, treasurer, and Gopaul Naidoo, the publications director of the University of Durban Westville.

A spokesman from the head office of the Police Directorate in Pretoria, Major Haynes said the South African Police cannot confirm the detentions of these persons in terms of security legislation.

News of the detentions was given to The SOWETAN by Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, secretary of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation. He released a statement that read in part: "The struggle against racist education is a reflection of the broader liberation struggle in Azania. We warn those who wield power to address themselves genuinely to the democratic demands of both students and blacks."

At a meeting attended by more than 500 students from Ibhongo yesterday there was tension outside St Hilda's Anglican Church when a man suspected to be a policeman was spotted close to the gates of the church.

Scores of students rushed out of the building, and in an ugly mood, jeered and booed the man who rushed to a car parked outside.

## AFRICAN LEAGUE PARTY REPRESENTS HOT OPPOSITION FOR THEBEHALI

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 20 Jul 83 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

A SURPRISE, and we must admit for some people, something of a shock is in store when a group of socalled black leaders launch a new socio-economic and what they claim is a civic organisation on a national scale.

The most striking thing about the organisation is that it intends to participate in community council elections, among other things. The surprise, it seems to us, is intensified by the fact that some of those who will be on this plank will be making a political volte face of some magnitude. They were at some stage some of the bitterest opponents of the said councils, and it seems they have been blinded to conversion by something new and extraordinary.

The organisation which intends to incorporate a non-profitmaking company and a civic party is called the African League. Its preamble uses language that seems to mask its de facto intent — participation in government instituted bodies — in lofty language.

This in a way gives credence to the rumour that it is backed by some powerful people.

It claims among other things to act as a vanguard in "formulating and implementing co-ordinated black approaches in the cultural, social, economic and civic fields on a national scale". This is somewhat pompous verbiage but the spirit of the message makes it clear that it is a departure from the kind of black thrust that acted outside the Government's sway and control.

The argument has been raised by various leaders in the past who felt that people like the Committee of Ten and the other civic associations were wasting valuable time because the councils seemed to use the limited power at their disposal.

In Soweto, we are afraid, if the founders have other motives they are likely to meet a formidable opponent in Mr David Thebehali —unless they co-operate with him. Our feeling is Mr Thebehali is here to stay if this Government has anything to do with it.

If they are unable to unseat him, it then follows that they will have to act under him and do what he has been doing throughout his tenure of office.

This is the reason why we believe, attempting to work from within the system as the common usage has it, is unhealthy and in the end counterproductive.

It hardly seems that people like Mr Meshack Mabogoane can be fooled in this way, always discounting the fact that they may have secret motives of their own. It is perhaps too early to say what these people are about. It is thus also unfair, except in a broad fashion, to take them to task. But we believe they will soon be going public and this happens to be, quite coincidentally it also seems, within sufficient time to mount some form of campaign to contest the coming community council elections.

# ROBERTSVILLE COMPANY OPPOSES PWAWU UNIONIZATION EFFORTS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 21 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Sello Rabothata]

[Text] ABOUT 50 workers at Supreme Mouldings in Robertsville, yesterday claimed that the company's management called police and dogs, before ordering them out of the premises because they had joined a union management did not like.

They also claimed that before they were ordered out, they were asked whether they wished to work for the union or the company. All the workers have joined the Fosatu affiliated Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Pwawu). A rival union was said to have addressed the workers some time last week in a bid to woo them over to their side. Pwawu already claims a majority of the workers at the company, and had already written to the company requesting a meeting to finalise their recognition by the company.

Ms Jeminah Futshani, one of the four workers elected as shop stewards, said: "I was called to the manager's office on Thursday last week and told that management was aware of my movements. Management was also aware that we had joined a union and wanted to know why we needed a union. I was then told I was suspended and should not come back to work.

"On Friday I went to work, ignoring the suspension but was reminded by the manager. When I was about to go all the workers already knew about the action against me and decided to down tools. The

workers said I should apologise for being rude. We went back to work and three hours later organisers of another union came to recruit and were turned back because we had already joined Pwawu.

"On Monday management questioned us on a letter from our union requesting a meeting to discuss their recognition. A meeting was arranged for lunchtime but instead of a meeting taking place, police with two dogs arrived in three cars and a van. We were then told to disperse".

Meanwhile Pwawu officials have threatened to take legal action against the company.

The company's manager, Mr Gilbert Emric, could not be reached for comment yesterday. A secretary at his office told The SOWETAN that he was "busy" and would phone back.

cso: 3400/1686

issue was discussed and

FORMER ROBBEN ISLANDER ADMITTED TO LAW PRACTICE Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 20 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Monk Nkomo]

[Text]

THE ironic twist of justice which almost relegated a former Robben Island prisoner to the status of a "foreigner" in South Africa, had a triumphant crowning this week when he became the first black to be admitted as an advocate in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

It was in the same court twenty years ago that Mr Ernest Dikgang Moseneke (35) was sentenced to ten years for sabotage. The young Dikgang converted his confinement into academic pursuits obtaining, through private studies with the University of South Africa, his BA, B Juris and LLB.

Upon his release he applied for admission as an attorney in the same Pretoria Supreme Court only to be told that because he was a Tswana, he was a "foreigner" in South Africa. By a stroke of a pen when Bophuthatswana opted

for independence, he had lost his South African status.

But representation by the well known constitutional expert, Professor M Wiechers, he was finally admitted as an attorney.

This week Dikgang crowned years of toil when he was admitted by Mr Acting Justice A J Heyns and Mr Acting Justice P van Niekerk. He will start serving his four months pupilage in Johannesburg making him the second black practicing advocate in the Transvaal.

The son of a high school principal, Mr Moseneke was a student of Hofmeyer High School. He is married to a qualified nursing sister, Naomi and they have two sons.

A successful attorney in Pretoria for the last five years, he will start practicing as a member of the Pretoria Bar in December.

## COOPER DISCUSSES FOUNDING NATIONAL FORUM COMMITTEE

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 19, 21 Jul 83

[Two-part interview of Saths Cooper by Sam Mabe]

[19 Jul 83 p ]

[Text] SOWETAN: What motivated the founding of the National Forum Committee and the subsequent solidarity conference held in Hammanskraal recently?

> Mr Cooper: The lack of unity among organisations struggling for liberation in this country.

> SOWETAN: Does this lack of unity have anything to do with ideology?

Mr Cooper: Well, ideology must come into this type of thing because where you have a lack of unity, ideological differences emerge and this is why the National Forum Committee has not put any ideological pre-conditions to those invited to participate . .

**SOWETAN:** But do you agree that ideological differences are the main causes of differences that exist among black organisations in this country?

Mr Cooper: To a certain extent, but I think ideology is being played up more than it actually deserves. You must have seen the type of hysteria being drummed up, more personalised attack and this rests with the problems of leadership and the zealousness with which people in respect of this leadership view their own paramountcy.

SOWETAN: Would you be able to say what this conference has achieved so far?

Mr Cooper: Well, for the first time in the history of the struggle in this country, we spoke together. People from a diversity of organisational background and with divergent ideological views. Under one roof, and without any political strings attached, we discussed a common basis for a future working relationship.

SOWETAN: What common basis did the conference raise on which all of you will now be working in future?

Mr Cooper: We had four commissions at the Forum. These were respectively the land question, the basis for principled unity, our minimum demands and the

and consolidating these efforts against the socalled new deal.

Now, the whole idea was to see consensus for working together without regard to whether one was black consciousness or progressive democratic or whatever.

SOWETAN: There are criticisms that came up after the conference that only two of the six papers read there dealt with unity.

Mr Cooper: No, there are three papers that dealt specifically with unity. One was on the national question in relationship to ethnicity, one dealt with the role of the youth and two more dealt with education. So half of the papers were on unity.

SOWETAN: The criticisms go further to say that the conference did not identify or acknowledge the existence of problems causing disunity, after which the question of unity could then be addressed to.

Mr Cooper: Well, I don't know where this last one was mobilising criticism comes from. But our approach towards unity is more positive than negative. We tend to look at things that bring us together rather than concentrate on those issues that separate us.

SOWETAN: Are there organisations and/or individuals who were deliberately excluded from this conference.

Mr Cooper: Yes, organisations like Inkatha.

SOWETAN: You may have heard that Cosas, Azaso and Gawu claim that they were not officially invited.

Mr Cooper: If you asked Jabu Ngwenya, he is the man I spoke to personally and I gave him an invitation at Wits and if you want me to, I can give you names of witnesses who saw me do

**SOWETAN:** What was their status at the conference? They claim to have gone there as observers.

Mr Cooper: This could be so. What I do know is that there were people from the organisations you mentioned who registered as observers.

But as soon as discussions started, they changed their status to that of participants.

The Land Ouestion Commission and the Minimum Demands Commission had a preponderance of people who subscribe to the Freedom Charter and they dominated discussions.

Never before has there been this kind of unity. In 1943 when the Unity Movement adopted its 10-point programme, their convention was of those groups that subscribed to Unity Movement principles.

In 1955 when the Kliptown Charter was adopted, there were five groupings at the Congress Alliance. In 1976 when the Mafikeng Manifesto was adopted, it was specifically Black People's Conventionorientated approach.

Here we have the Manifesto of the Azanian people without any organisational slant. It does not speak about black consciousness, it does not speak about Progressive Democrats or Unity Movement, principles. It is an amalgam and a development of these previous historical programmes.

**SOWETAN:** But is there any difference between demands in the manifesto and those in the Charter?

Mr Cooper: I think the Charter is a particular demand at a particular epoch in history. Certain things there would not find much relevance in a society almost three decades removed because a society is not a static thing, like a document bound in history can be.

So, just as somebody pointed to me once, a young person who is not of my political persuasion, asked me about the Unity Movement's 10-point programme, dated. It talks in terms of quizzling. Who uses that term? A quizzling was a particular "sellout" during the German occupation of Scandinavia.

The programme here is a manifesto of minimum demands which are very bland in a sense. It talks of socialist, anti-racist system and democratic State, worker control. That is the basis of this manifesto. And I may say, no previous programme has been as explicit as this one is about worker con-

This is something that we believe can bring organisations together, for instance black consciousness will be very foolish if it found any fault with the Manifesto of the Azanian People, although the manifesto places no emphasis whatsoever on BC.

In the same way, will be foolhardy if they got that from. were to condemn it out SOWETAN: It came up was not their initiative.

SOWETAN: Are there Mr Cooper: No, I don't vant?

is in the Charter per se.

For instance, the entrenchment of minority rights. Now, I am speaking not for National Forum but I'm giving the Azapo point of view. We don't believe in the even its language is out- entrenchment of minority rights and I don't think United Democratic Front people would believe in that either.

If they did, I don't think they would be that fervent in their opposition to the President's Council which I think they are correct in opposing because it furthers divisions and entrenches group rights.

Now, we don't believe with Azapo that there should be group rights because there is nowhere in the world where group rights can be enshrined in a constitution.

SOWETAN: You, as National Forum would not speak to the UDF, can you say why? They were referred to as a minority group at the Hammanskraal conference.

Mr Cooper: Nobody said they didn't want to speak to the UDF. I Unity Movement people don't know where you

of hand just because it during the talks at the conference.

specifics that you find think that's a true reflecoutdated in the Charter tion at all. A resolution or would you say the en- adopted where this tire Charter is not rele-manifesto was pushed through was that all Mr Cooper: Look, no those groups that were upholder of the Charter not fully represented for would be in a position to one reason or the other say that every single one should be approached of those demands is ab- by the Forum Commit-

solutely as relevant as it tee, in preparation for the next forum meeting.

We actually warned people against attacking the UDF.

SOWETAN: You have spoken of anti-racism and anti-imperialism as some of the principles on which the Manifesto of the Azanian People is based, could you say what you mean by antiracism and anti-imperialism?

Mr Cooper: In the future society towards which we are working, we will have no vestiges of racism. We will not consider whether a person is white or black, whether a person is a he or a she, professional or blue-collared worker, moslem or Christian.

Anti-racism to us represents a much more positive advance on previous attitudes. For instance, right now there is a lot of talk on nonracialism and among the organisations that are most clear on nonracialism, I think, Sacos stands out as an exam-

But you get other organisations which claim they are non-racial, when in actual fact they are confusing between non-racialism and multiracialism. And any type of approach that is going to give any credence to ethnic bases must be gotten rid of when we approach liberation in this country.

We equally oppose alliance with groups that work within the system. We believe that what must be entrenched is an independent working class leadership for the future state.

[Text] SOWETAN: Another controversial part of the Freedom Charter is the preamble which makes mention of this country belonging to all who live in it, black and white. But in the Azanian Manifesto it is said that the land and all that belong to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people. What is the difference?

> Mr Cooper: Yes, the Charter talks in the present tense, whereas the Azanian People's Manifesto talks about a futuristic situation.

There are problems of interpretation when you come to that opening sentence of the Charter, which I will not go into. But we must say right now that the land does not belong to all people of this country. It belongs to a particular ruling class.

We believe that in a future country, no regard should be given to whether a person is white or black. He must be an Azanian, he must be a citizen of the country, identify with the soil, identify with the future constitution of the country.

#### AIMS

He must identify with the aims, interests and aspirations of the sovereign, unitary, independent future working Republic.

**SOWETAN:** People who claim that there is a strong emphasis of black consciousness in the National Forum say there will still be a strong emphasis on the race analy-

Mr Cooper: No. no. black consciousness has developed from its inception. As one of the founding members of BC in this country, I know that BC as pro-

pounded in the early '70s is not the BC that you see today.

From concentration on the race analysis, it has moved to that of race-class analysis and it will be simplistic in this country to say that it is purely a class struggle or that it is purely a race struggle.

The two have a symbiotic relationship. Class feeds on race and race feeds on class. I think a difference of interpretations may creep in like which is more important of the two. But that is largely an academic exercise, which certain leaderships tend to engage in.

# MAN CASTRATED BY LESOTHO POLICE AIDED IN FREE STATE Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Jul 83 p 4

[Text]

EXTREME brutality by the Lesotho Police Mobile Unit (PMU) was exposed at the weekend when a partly castrated and tortured self-confessed member of the Basutoland Congress Party escaped to South Africa.

The 24-year-old Lesotho citizen, whose agonising experiences with the PMU started in 1978 when his elder brother was shot dead, cannot be identified because of the safety of his relatives still in Lesotho.

The man spoke to newsmen from his hospital bed in Virginia where he was admitted on Friday.

His brother was shot in cold blood; his father managed to escape and has disappeared since; his mother was arrested and taken to a camp in Maseru, and he was arrested and tortured, he told reporters.

He said he was tied up in a plastic bag and dropped in a dam. When he recovered from the water he was stoned. Thereafter he was handcuffed with his hands above his head and his feet chained to the ground while he was

whipped intermittently for four days without being given water or food. The wounds were slit open and salt rubbed in.

He managed to escape across the SA border and was cared for at a SA police border post for three days. His lawyer came to fetch him to see the Lesotho Commissioner of Police who told him that he could go free. This was some months after his initial arrest.

At the beginning of May 1983 he was rearrested by the PMU and taken to the Maseru camp where the torturing started again.

They wanted to know where his father was hiding. After the torture sessions he was fed on salt and when he asked for water police only wet a fingertip and touched his tongue. He was then ordered to lie on his tummy and had pins pushed under his nails.

In June he was transferred to another camp where a high-ranking officer partly castrated him, rubbing salt into the incision.

On July 22 he escaped while going to the toilet.

POLICE BLAME SOWETAN FOR UNREST NOTED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Jul 83 p 4

[Cartoon]



OSCAR MPETHA TO HEAD UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Jul 83 p 2

[Article by Mono Badela]

[Text]

AILING Oscar Mpetha (74), the former Cape president of the now outlawed African National Congress (ANC) and who earlier this month was released on a R1 bail, was unanimously elected president of the newly constituted United Democratic Front (Western Cape) in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Mphetha, who was convicted of terrorism in a court sequel to the 1980 Cape Town unrest, received a warm welcome from the more than 300 delegates representing some 14 organisations from worker, church, civic, students and religious bodies in the Western Cape.

## CONFERENCE

He is also the chairman of the Nyanga Residents Association and the national organiser of the African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU).

Delivering the main address of the two-day conference, Mr Mpetha said among other things: "We are all aiming at achieving a new South Africa. We cannot achieve that goal unless we are united. Unity is strength. . . . The more we realise unity, the nearer we are to our goal... The National Party is in pieces because they are threatened by the unity of the oppressed people."

Mr Mpetha was also appointed, with nine others, as the patrons of the UDF. The others are the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress Mr Nelson Mandela, a black top theologian, Dr Alan Boesak, president of the South African Cricket Board of Control (Sacboc) Hassan Howa, banned Johny Issel, Christmas Tinto, lawyer Dhalla Omar, United Women Organisation (UWC) Amy Thorton and recently unbanned Andrew Borraine.

# SOWETAN HOMEBUYERS HIT WITH ELECTRICITY COSTS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 19 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by Zwelakhe Sisulu]

[Text]

THERE is a shock in store for Soweto residents who want to buy their houses under the new mass sale of houses—they will have to pay an additional amount of up to R600 for electricity, which is not included in the purchase price.

As a result, the cost of some houses will double.

Even those people who have not bought their houses but are renting them, will not escape this payment as they will pay a monthly levy of R12 over 25 years.

These amounts will go towards the repayment of the R250-million loan the three councils received and they do not include the monthly electricity bill, nor the R30 that is required as deposit.

People who buy their houses will pay between R400 and R620 for electricity.

The breakdown for the amounts that will be paid is for the electricity cubicle in the street, connecting electricity to the house and internal wiring.

This means that residents will have three electricity payments to make. The first is the monthly electricity bill, the lump sum or levy for wiring and connection and the R30 deposit required against the account.

Those who connected electricity to their own homes and did their own wiring will be paid a monthly rebate of R8 which comprises R4 for internal wiring and R4 for the connection.

The rebates will also be paid over 25 years.

Further, the monthly levy of R12 is only applicable for the first year but is expected to escalate thereafter.

Besides being used to repay the loan, the money will also be utilised to make up for the interest that will accrue on the loan.

## SERIOUS PROBLEMS BESET BLACK COMMUNITY

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 19 Jul 83 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text]

THERE ARE several areas of concern in the black community which, if not taken at the flood, might lead to serious problems.

These include the recent problem in our schools, the escalating number of strikes involving a wide spectrum of job situations and housing.

The first and perhaps the most distressing is that affecting students. There are already portentous signals that things are not what they should be in some Soweto schools and we believe the problem should be nipped in the bud before it spreads.

The situation at Ibhongo High School should have received such treatment from the outset and we must confess to a feeling of dismay that it was not attended to more intelligently. The facts surprisingly are that the contention does not even surround the race of the principal involved. The scholars are against the said principal, not because he is white, as they seem to prefer another white principal in his stead.

While we were expecting things to get to a head at Ibhongo, there was a fresh eruption at another school, Progress High School, also in Soweto. Here the issue is racial. The scholars are up in arms about the expulsion of black teachers and the presence of white teachers.

Without being presumptuous in a matter that is domestic, it is our considered view that had the white principal been removed or left in his other position, there would have been no trouble. It seems a storm has been fomented in this teacup, something that is going to create no end of headaches to us all.

As for labour strikes, we seem to think there is very little understanding between both employers and employees about labour relations. The problem is compounded by race, and the inevitable political stirrings that crop out of every or rather every other South African situation.

Now if those involved are not aware of things like the high expectations of blacks now in unions, the sense of power that workers and perhaps politicians believe this gives workers and the sheer exuberance on the part of black workers to express dissent which might have nothing to do with labour, then somebody has to start digging. There has to be wide-scale education on both fronts, for a start.

Finally housing. There has been an inordinate spell of optimism from those in the Soweto Council and their boards, for instance about this. When things are at last tumbling to our dismayed understanding we can even see why people like Mr Joseph Mahuhushi seems to have inflated the prices of houses in the Diepmeadow area at the start.

We are not saying we condone what he did, because we believe all these local authorities are involved in a conspiracy of silence about the true nature on housing and the much vaunted electricity project.

Things are beginning to fall into place. The houses will cost much more than the figures given if we take into account the so-called leasehold and our surprised involvement in the repayment of the R250-million electricity project secured by Mr David Thebehali. We think the people should be told the truth, especially before the coming elections as to what is exactly happening.

## SPLIT IN AFRIKANER UNITY EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR/REVIEW in English 9 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Peter Sullivan: "Broeder Split: Now the Real Fight Beings"]

[Text] This week the facade of Afrikaner unity came crashing down as Professor Boshoff was forced to resign as Chairman of the Broederbond. Now rival factions are fighting for control. There are Conservatives, there are reformists, there are those who want compromise, and there are those who want purges. The stakes are high, the winners could win the right to govern South Africa.

Anyone who doubts the influence of the Afrikaner Broederbond need only take a look at the top jobs in South Africa and compare the names there with those on the list of AB members.

The correlation is still startling, nearly five years after Mr P W Botha, who has repeatedly said he is proud of his membership, took office as Prime Minister.

Little wonder, then the issue of the week was the forced resignation of Professor Carel Boshoff, up until Monday night the head of the AB and of the SA Bureau For Racial Affairs (SABRA).

The row has been simmering for months, if not years.

At the last Bondraad meeting, the clannish get-together every two years at a "secret" venue known only to AB members and anyone buying a newspaper in the week preceding it, there was every sign of a potential full-scale conflict between conservatives and reformers.

Names entered into the lists for the reformers included Professor Wynand Mouton, head of the SABC and Rector of the University of the Free State, and Dr Gerritt Viljoen, Cabinet Minister, former AB chief and former Rector of Rank Afrikaans University.

Names speculated upon as fighting for the Conservatives, who had been flushed from the National Party only months before last year's October

Bondsraad, included Dr Andries Treurnicht, former Cabinet Minister, former Transvaal National Party leader, former AB chief and then the newly elected leader of the Conservative Party.

Everyone knew Professor Boshoff was also on the side of the Conservatives, but he was proposed as a compromise candidate who could keep the whole show on the road without a breakdown.

In the event, both the Prime Minister and Dr Andries Treurnicht were invited to address the gathering of Broeders to try to swing opinion.

Mr Botha agreed, but Dr Treurnicht refused on the grounds that it did not accord with the secret organisation's aims to have acrimonious debate staged before it.

Professor Boshoff was re-elected chairman, with the Broeders deciding on a facade of unity by not opting for any specific constitutional plan.

This week the facade came crashing down, as Professor Boshoff was forced to resign.

Some weeks ago, Sabra's plan for a new Constitution was leaked to the Press, causing immediate ructions.

Apparently Sabra had given an undertaking not to interfere with constitutional proposals.

Dr Viljoen issued an ominous warning, that Sabra could find itself in direct conflict with the Government if the plan leaked to the Press proved true.

For the next two weeks Professor Boshoff was evasive, continually telling reporters Sabra's statement would be read "next week" or "tomorrow".

Finally his time ran out. After a meeting of the AB executive, he announced his resignation as AB chairman but added that he would by staying on as head of Sabra, as an executive member of the AB, and as one of the heads of the Voortrekker movement, the Afrikaans equivalent of the Boy Scouts but with political overtones.

This means the struggle for the soul of the AB has started in earnest.

Not only two factions are fighting for control.

There are Conservatives, led by Dr Treurnicht, there are reformists, led by Dr Viljoen. There are those who want compromise, led by Professor Boshoff.

There are those who want purges, either to the political left or right, and there are those who want the AB to distance itself from politics

and become a real culture organisation.

The AB is probably big enough to contain all these factions at the same time, and still continue to function as the secret power behind the National Party throne.

But Afrikaner history has shown that compromise is seen as weakness, and challenge as strength.

Rewards for gaining control are high, and could be as high as the taking of power in the country. Failure could mean the loss of power in the long term, and certainly the loss of the referendum in the short term.

Mr P W Botha's base in the AB is political, backed up by Dr Viljoen's academic base. Dr Treurnicht has the dominees, almost all AB members, for his base plus those academics who support Professor Boshoff.

The new man at the helm, Professor JP De Lange, is the country's leading educationist, but does not get his power base from the teachers, who find him a little too reformist for their liking.

elected by the executive council instead of the Bondraad, but his position is a powerful one in that he can decide when and where to hold meetings.

ger stuff surrounding this sinister ues.

Professor De Lange had the du-clan makes James Bond look a real bious distinction of having been little brother to the Broederbond, s and Octopussy's tentacles have no hope of penetrating the depths of social life which the AB has already reached.

To coin a phrase from another se-The intrigue and cloak-and-dag- ries of films: The struggle contin-

With any luck, the struggle could split this ugly organisation from top to bottom, let in the light of things being done in the open, and remove its sinister influence from our politics sinister influence from our politics. tics so that all who took part could have equal access to the plum jobs that are the fruits of endeavour in any decent society.□

3400/1686 CSO:

#### MINISTER ON LAND TRANSFER FOR KWANDEBELE

MB111145 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 11 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by Chris Freimond, Political Reporter]

[Text] The minister of cooperation and development, Dr Piet Koornhof, yesterday denied he was using Parliament to deliberately prevent another Ingwavuma-type court battle over the excision of land.

Speaking at a press conference in Cape Town, Dr Koornhof rejected opposition allegations that by making a law to allow the government to excise the Moutse district of Lebowa, he was purposely placing the matter above the jurisdiction of the courts, and thereby preventing a possible rejection by the courts of the government's action—as happened in the Ingwavuma case.

The Moutse district was originally excised by proclamation in 1980, but a bill introduced into Parliament by Dr Koornhof makes the excision an act of Parliament retrospective to the same date as the original proclamation.

The Lebowa Government is strongly opposed to the excision of Moutse, which is likely to be incorporated into KwaNdebele.

Dr Koornhof said yesterday the measure in the Laws on Cooperation and Development Amendment Bill to excise Moutse was "certainly not" to circumvent a court case.

The government was "bent on trying to resolve the matter in a friendly and amicable way. I think an equitable solution can be achieved and that the matter can be resolved, perhaps in the next couple of months."

The Moutse and Ingwavuma issues were not the same. If the government had wanted to it could have passed legislation to excise Ingwavuma at the time, he said.

The prime minister, Mr P.W. Botha, has undertaken to visit the Moutse area after the current parliamentary session and the chief minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, has agreed to stop a court action he was planning in an attempt to reverse the excision of 1980.

# COLORED PARTIES OBJECT TO PRESIDENT'S POWERS

MB091549 Johannesburg Domestic Service in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 9 Aug 83

[Text] Evidence given by colored political parties and the South African Indian Council before the parliamentary select committee studying the new constitution indicates that their main objections are to the powers of the executive president and the exclusion of blacks. Transcripts of this evidence, along with the committee's report, were published in Cape Town today, the proposed amendments having been announced yesterday.

The Labor Party objects mainly to the extensive powers of the president and his authority to make decisions on his own matters and on general matters. The party also believes that the proposals should rather be an amendment to the present constitution, because a new constitution gives the impression of finality. Allan Hendrickse, the leader of the party, says the new process is seen as a point of departure and by merely amending the present constitution, encouraging support for constitutional change can be found.

The Freedom Party continues to support the broad principles of the draft constitution, but expresses particular concern over its practical application and the compilation of the electoral college for the presidential election. Mr (Chattles Julies), leader of the party, says the democratic principle of equality is not clear enough in the constitution's preamble. The party also objects to the exclusion of blacks, but it accepts the bill as a point of departure for constitutional change. Mr (Julies) says the principles of joint responsibility mean that the coloreds have been accepted as full citizens of the country.

The Indian Council says that although it is strongly opposed to certain basic principles in the bill, such as separate development, it feels that a government move in the direction of review or modification of discriminatory legislation can create a happier and healthier society. The council recommends that an intention to repeal discriminatory legislation should be declared, that the report of the cabinet committee on black affairs should be awaited, and that the opinion of all the electorate in each race group should be tested before the bill is read a third time. It is also suggested that all members of the houses should constitute an electoral college, that there should be a fourth house for blacks, and that all members of all houses should be elected.

JOHANNESBURG ON MOZAMBIQUE'S MILITARY SITUATION

MB110541 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 10 Aug 83

[Station commentary: "The Situation in Mozambique"]

[Text] Reports from Lisbon of low morale among Frelimo government troops in Mozambique because of the activities of and support for the Mozambique National Resistance Movement [RNM] are borne out by the announcement of a military shakeup particularly in the troubled Zambezia Province.

President Samora Machel, on a tour of the strategic province, announced that three Frelimo guerrilla veterans are to take command of the troops in the area, as Zambezia is the province most seriously affected by what he termed banditry. This, together with President Machel's recent decision to take personal charge of the country's defense, is an indication that the RNM's stated intent of toppling the government by the end of next year is being taken seriously.

By the government's own admission the RNM, led ironically by a former Frelimo commander, Mr Afonso Dhlakama, is operating in 9 of the 10 provinces of Mozambique, and the center of attention from both sides now is the Zambezia Province, which accounts for about half of the country's foreign exchange earnings. The RNM with more than a little success has concentrated on disrupting the economy of the province and so too the country.

President Machel has hit out at military officers for not containing the situation and has banished them to do productive work in agriculture and industry. He added that the consolidation of the revolution in Mozambique will be made with the blood of reactionaries. Strong words from a man who expansively promised so much 8 years ago, with the transformation of the country into what was termed the first truly Marxist state in Africa.

One of the reasons for the president's present woes, according to a spokesman for the RNM in Lisbon, Dr Evo Fernandes, is that Frelimo officers are commanding troops with low morale, and it does not take a genius to discern that low morale is caused by negative factors including, in the case of Mozambique, disenchantment with promises that have come to nothing, chronic shortages, general misery, and a situation as unsafe as when Frelimo was fighting the Portuguese. And so the vicious circle in Mozambique continues, with the RNM's strong opposition to empty Marxist idealism and its fight for the introduction of democratic systems that will allow political parties and free enterprise principles in the economy.

# FUEL PRICE CUTS TO HELP CUSTOMS UNION

MB111329 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 11 Aug 83

[Excerpts] The minister of mineral and energy affairs, Mr Piet du Plessis, says the reduction in the fuel price announced last night does not mean that more crude oil has become available to South Africa. Addressing newsmen in Cape Town, he said it therefore remained essential for South Africa to restrict its crude oil consumption. He said that the reduction in the price could not have been implemented earlier, as there had been a time lag between the drop in the price of crude oil and the arrival and refining of the oil in South Africa.

Mr Plessis said that the fact that South Africa was buying crude oil at reduced prices was saving the country about 3 million rand a day. The reduction in the price of crude had brought about a dramatic improvement in the current account of the South African balance of payments. This year the country would save more than 1 billion rand in foreign exchange. He said that the reduction was expected to have a ripple effect, as the private sector would be in a favorable position to reduce production costs in certain areas. He urged the sector to pass the benefits on to consumers. If the call was not heeded he would follow a line of persuasion, as he put it.

Mr du Plessis said that consideration would have to be given to the construction of a further synthetic fuel plant and an energy bank to finance such a project, in the light of South Africa's present and future fuel needs.

Mr du Plessis said that the TBVC countries [Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda, and Ciskei], and Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, which were South Africa's partners in the Southern African Customs Union, would also be able to benefit from the lower fuel prices, in contrast to neighboring states such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Mozambique, which refused to cooperate in this regard. Agreement had been reached between South Africa, its partners in Customs Union, and the independent national states, on the reduction of fuel prices.

Our economic staff reports that one of the main features of the reduction in the petrol price is that it is the first significant indication of lower cost pressures on South African imports. Our economic staff points out

that this is an indication that the economy is starting to benefit from the lower inflation rates and commodity prices abroad and also from the recent firming of the South African exchange rate.

The prime minister, Mr P.W. Botha, announced appreciable reductions in fuel prices, effective from the beginning of next month, last night. Ninety-three and 87 octane petrol will cost at least 4 cents a liter less, and 98 octane fuel, 3.4 cents less. The price of diesel fuel, power paraffin, paraffin, and aviation fuel is to be reduced as well.

# JOHANNESBURG SCORES WCC'S ANTI-WEST ATTITUDE

MB150836 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 15 Aug 83

[Station commentary: "The WCC and South Africa"]

[Text] Four thousand churchmen and a sprinkling of representatives of revolutionary movements of acceptably radical left wing persuasion are returning home from Vancouver after the sixth general assembly of the World Council of Churhces. Given the ostensible purpose of the gathering, their baggage must include a curious assortment of emotions.

The (Phillip Potters), and no doubt the Tutus and the Boesaks, and certainly the big Soviet delegation—these will be returning in triumph. They routed the opposition, especially in that spate of resolutions passed in the last 2 hours of the 18-day assembly.

The United States was condemned for its actions in Central America; the Sandanista regime in Nicaragua was praised for its life-affirming achievements. Proposals were made for an Afghanistan settlement, scrupulously avoiding any criticism of Soviet actions. Even a suggestion that Soviet troops should at once be withdrawn was voted down, and mandatory sanctions against South Africa were approved.

The opposition will be frustrated, saddened, and perhaps finally disillusioned. Moderate churchmen have seen their hopes for the sixth general assembly humiliatingly dashed. The turning point for the WCC away from its preoccupation with revolutionary movements and partisan involvement in East-West security issues, and back to its ecumenical calling did not come about. The possibility never even arose. The WCC has reaffirmed blatantly, aggressively, its role as an instrument for the advancement of Soviet foreign policy objectives. By the end the resolutions were almost formality, and the Marxist slogans in which they were couched were merely a celebratory flaunting of the radicals' victory.

For South Africa the Vancouver event brings greater clarity in the currents and whirlpools of the controversy on issues of church and society. South Africans must certainly take note when an important international body professing the Christian faith and acting out of compassion, expresses

concern about faults in social relations. Indeed, they are duty-bound to engage in earnest dialogue with such an institution. Sincere and continual reexamination of conscience and conduct in terms of their own Christian principles is the essential spiritual foundation for building a just and stable order for all communities.

But the WCC is not what it professes to be. By its decisions and actions, it defines itself as an agent for furthering terrorism and revolution; for consistently assaulting the political and economic values of Western civilization, and acting as apologist for the dehumanizing ideology of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin; for insiduously undermining the security interests of the West, while giving a sham legitimacy to the militant imperialism of the Soviet bloc.

Dialogue requires some common ground, similar ethical norms, compatible objectives. To speak of dialogue with a body which, like the WCC, seeks not reconcilliation but the destruction of the ideals to which honorable people of all creeds in South African society aspire, is foolishness and self delusion.

cso: 3400/1776

#### BRIEFS

COUNTRY 'RESPONSIBLE' FOR TRANSKEIANS--Umtata, 9 Aug SAPA--South Africa would be held responsible for any Transkeians affected by the unrest in Mdantsane. In a statement made over the weekend, the Transkei prime minister, Chief George Matanzima, said his country would put the blame squarely at South Africa's door for any Transkeian casualties that occured during the unrest in Mdantsane "because it was the South African authorities who put thousands of Transkeians working in East London, in a third state--Ciskei--where they would have no redress." Chief Matanzima added: "My government has repeatedly expressed its concern and displeasure at the displacement of Transkeians at Duncan Village and their forced resettlement at Mdantsane and Zwelitsha by South Africa." One Transkeian had been killed and another injured during the bus boycott unrest in Mdantsane. [Text] [MB091450 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1111 GMT 9 Aug 83]

POLICE RELEASE TRANSKEI DIPLOMAT--President Matanzima of the Transkei has announced that the Transkeian vice consul in East London, Mr (Robert Nkakazi), who was detained in the Ciskei, has been released. The president said at a news conference in Umtata that the situation in Southern Africa had to be normalized and offered to help South Africa accomplish peace in the region. [Text] [MB101751 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 10 Aug 83]

PASS LAW RULING APPLIES TO HOMELANDS—The minister of cooperation and development, Dr Koornhof, says the government accepts that the provisions of the Rikhoto court ruling also apply to citizens of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei who have lived and worked in black urban area for more than 10 years. Speaking in the Assembly he said that the state legal advisors' interpretation of the ruling made it clear that citizens of the independent national states who qualified could not be denied permanent residents. He stressed that the government accepted the implications of the ruling, and he said that he would prove that it was being implemented. The whole situation regarding these countries was very complicated and that other departments were also involved. [Sentence as heard] Dr Koornhof said that the Rikhoto judgment would also apply to employees who had lived for 15 years or longer in black urban areas and who were still employed. Administration boards, like the West Rand Administration Board, which had expressed doubt over the rulings had been informed about the conditions.

Dr Koornhof appealed to employers in the private sector to assist with the provision of housing for those employees who qualified for permanent residence. He said the government could not bear all the costs. [Text] [MB091901 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 9 Aug 83]

CONSERVATIVES TO STUDY COST OF APARTHEID—At its Transvaal congress in Pretoria the Conservative Party has decided to establish a committee to investigate the cost of separate development. The committee, under the chairmanship of Mr (Blokkies De Beer), has been instructed to investigate claims that apartheid or separate development is too expensive and to weigh the cost of separate development against that of integration. The congress also expressed concern over the high rate of inflation and attributed it to low productivity and tight monetary and fiscal controls. Delegates expressed the view that the government was not doing enough to promote decentralization and that this was leading to the influx of blacks to the cities. A delegate, Mr (Yuri Mentz), called on the Conservative Party in future to refer to a policy of separate areas and partitioning because the old policy of separate development of the National Party did not provide for homelands for coloureds and Indians. [Text] [MB101228 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 10 Aug 83]

CISKEI POLICE SHOOT TWO MORE PEOPLE—Ciskei police have admitted they shot and killed another two people in Mdantsane. Police liaison officer Major Ngaki says 16-year old (Ceasar Faku) and an unidentified man were shot and killed by police over the weekend. Ngaki says the youth was killed after police found a group of people stoning a government office. He says police were threatened with a knife, a shot was fired, and the youth was killed. (Ngaki) says the second person was killed when police opened fire on a crowd. The crowd allegedly barricaded off a street and attacked police. (Ngaki) says several buildings have been set alight in Mdantsane. Commuters in the city are refusing to travel on buses because of fare increases. Last week five people were killed when police opened fire after a skirmish with people trying to board trains to take them to work, instead of buses. [Text] [MB090908 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600 GMT 9 Aug 83]

CISKEI SCHOOL CLOSES--A school in Mdantsane has been shut down because of a class boycott. The pupils at (Wangaletu) senior secondary school walked out of classes last week in sympathy with the bus boycott. Ciskei director general for education, (Dr V. Thom), says he does not know when the school will open again. He says some pupils are staying away from classes at other schools in Mdantsane. [Text] [MB090917 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600 GMT 9 Aug 83]

ADMINISTRATION BOARDS TO REMAIN--The South African minister of cooperation and development, Dr Piet Koornhof, says the administration boards that are looking after the affairs of black people outside the South African national states, will continue to exist when black communities start getting their own municipalities later this year. Dr Koornhof has told a news conference in Cape Town that the administration boards will become development boards. The main tasks of the development boards will be to help with local government and housing for black people. They will also act as the agents

of the South African Government. Dr Koornhof says that in future the development boards will concentrate more on development than on administration. [Text] [MB110750 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 11 Aug 83]

INDIAN COUNCIL DEMANDS MORE HOUSE SEATS—The South African Indian Council, at its meeting in Durban, has adopted a resolution that the number of seats in the proposed House of Delegates should be increased to 60 instead of 45 as recommended in the constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill. The council made it clear during the debate that this recommendation did not mean the council tacitly supported the new constitution. The council also decided to recommend that there should be no nominated members in the House. The bill recommends that five members should be nominated. [Text] [MB111657 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 11 Aug 83]

MUSLIMS UNITY URGED--Professor Moulana Ismail Abdul Razack, of Al Azhar University in Cairo, called on Muslims to unite against the interference of the two super powers in the Third World in a fiery 30-minute speech to more than 5 000 worshippers observing Eid-ul-Fitr in Durban today. "Muslims have made a substantial contribution to science, medicine and civil rights, but today the entire Third World is divided because of the meddling of Russia and the United States," said Professor Moulana Razack. He then made an impassioned plea for aid to be given to the Afghanistan liberation movement and victims of the drought in South Africa. Thousands of rands changed hands with the major beneficiary being the fund for Afghanistan. "Muslims must unite and first rid themselves of disunity and then join people in the Free World to work towards the improvement of the quality of life," said the Professor. Muslims throughout South Africa celebrated Eid-ul-Fitr, the festival which marked the end of Ramadaan. [Text] [Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 12 Jul 83 p 8]

CHINESE CULTURAL VISIT--Taipei.--Representatives of the Chinese Culture University leave Taipei tomorrow for South Africa, where they are to give a charity concert to raise money for the Drought Relief Fund. The representatives--including 10 professors of the university--will also attend the first anniversary celebrations of the South African Chinese Cultural Centre.--Sapa-CNA [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Jul 83 p 11]

PRESS CRITICIZED—The Press was yesterday described as silly and accused of playing the newly formed National Forum (NF) against the Freedom Charter and of deliberately trying to dispute the "positive results" achieved by the NF. At a Soweto branch meeting of Azapo held at the Orlando DOCC hall yesterday, Mr George Wauchope, who is in the sports secretariat of the organisation, said the Press tried to give the impression that the NF was formed to oppose the United Democratic Front. Speaking in defence of the Manifesto of the Azanian People, adopted at the NF's conference held in Hammanskraal recently, speakers charged that the Freedom Charter entrenched ethnicity and that it was a document of a particular political persuasion. Mr Sedupe Ramokgopa said the Charter stood for liberal democracy whereas the Manifesto stood for socialist democracy. He said the Manifesto, like the Charter, will have to be modified in future in response to the dictates of that society. With regard to the recent school unrests

in Soweto, the meeting accused the Department of Education and Training of having caused the unrests through its dishonesty in failing to keep its promises. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Jul 83 p 2]

ECONOMIC POWER OF BLACKS—An economic base is as powerful as political power. This was said by guest speaker Mr Gabriel Magomola, manager of City Bank at a cocktail inaugural party given by the African Bank yesterday at the Mphebatho Hotel in Atteridgeville. Blacks must develop their economic base and draw on their strength which they so much underestimate, so that the African Bank can be used as a vehicle for economic upliftment, he said at the weekend. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Jul 83 p 2]

BRITISH ANTI-APARTHEID GROUP--London. -- The Anti-Apartheid Movement met Britain's new Home Secretary, Mr Leon Britten, yesterday to complain about the activities of alleged South African agents in Britain. A delegation led by AAM, chairman, Mr Bob Hughes, a Labour MP, intended delivering a memorandum to the Home Secretary asking for an investigation into the activities of the Information Department of the South African Embassy. Previous demands have been ignored, and a movement spokesman said the delegation would ask for "more definite action" to be taken. The AAM began lodging complaints last year after a South African diplomat, Warrant Officer Joseph Klue, was recalled to South Africa after he was named during a court case as a link between the South African Government and burglaries at the London offices of Black opposition groups. AAM, meanwhile, is mounting demonstrations in London at the site of the international paraplegic games, where 26 South Africans are among 640 wheelchair athletes from 36 countries taking part. When the games opened on Sunday, someone poured a bucket of water over the AAM protesters and a spokesman for the organisers of the event said: "We must accept everyone, regardless of race, colour or creed." Canada refused to allow its disabled athletes to take part because of the presence of the South African team. -- Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Jul 83 p 4]

SEIFSA STRIKE--The Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) says it has been informed by some employers that SEIFSA is circulating new and tough guidelines in the metal industry on how to deal with strikes. The guidelines are said to advise employers who are faced with a restive workforce, or by any industrial action, to take a hardline and to carry out the following actions: to dismiss all employees; to re-employ all employees except those allegedly implicated in intimidation; to reinstate long service benefits only after the workforce prove themselves to be docile. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Jul 83 p 2]

UNION RIGHTS RECOGNIZED--Workers employed by the Matthey Rustenburg Refiners, signed an agreement last Friday which gives them full union recognition in terms of an agreement between the company and the Federated The agreement will cover all of the 800 Black employees at Mining Union. the refinery. The employees are all residents of Bophuthatswana. Negotiations concerning the agreement began more than seven months ago. agreement includes access by the union to the works, prevention of victimisation, stop orders for union dues, recognition of shop stewards and the definition of their duties, negotiating procedures, and grievance and disciplinary procedures. Arrangements for retrenchments in terms of the agreement are comprehensive and they provide for consultation with the union well in advance of any retrenchment being made. They also include methods of avoiding retrenchments. Some of the methods considered are retraining, the redployment of labour, limited recruitment, elimination of overtime and the introduction of shorter working hours. [as published] [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Jul 83 p 8]

MACSTEEL ACQUIRES U.S. OPERATIONS--Macsteel, South Africa's largest steel merchant with an annual turnover of R500-million, has acquired the steel stockholding operations of Associated Metals & Minerals of the United States. The vendor is part of the R10 000-million international Lissauer organisation, which has more than 90 offices worldwide. The newly acquired companies, whose total annual sales exceed R250-million, hold either regional agencies or are regular importers of South African steel products from mills and manufacturers such as Iscor, Highveld, Tosa, Bright Metals, Brollo, among others. This deal is likely to increase Macsteel's US steel sales by 500 000 tons a year, says Macsteel chairman Eric Samson. "The acquired facilities in Texas and California (trading as Gulf Steel and Triangle respectively) include major warehousing and service centre operations," says deputy chairman Jack Gerber. "In Texas, however, certain of the depots and the entire futures business will be conducted on a joint-venture basis with Associated." A week before clinching the deal, Frans Lissauer, boss of the billion-dollar US steel empire, visited South Africa for the first time. "We've been trying for a major acquisition overseas for a long time," says Mr Samson. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Jul 83 p 5]

KLIPTOWN TENTS DESTROYED—It is back to square one for the homeless people of Kliptown after West Rand Administration Board police dismantled the tents which the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) had provided them with on Saturday. These homeless people were arrested early last week and appeared in court on a number of allegations which included trespassing and being in an urban area for more than 72 hours. They were all released on warning and will appear in court again on August 19. On their release they had nowhere to go. It was then that the students' organisation came to their rescue by erecting tents for them. This was done on Saturday. However, yesterday the Wrab police dismantled the tents. When they were putting up the tents the president of Azasm, Kabelo Lengane said they regarded those people as members of the community and not as outcasts. "They are our mothers and fathers and we have to help them in their plight. We are expressing our solidarity with their plight. We

also want to translate our words into action," he said. They are now likely to be accommodated at the Methodist Youth Centre. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 19 Jul 83 p 3]

FOSATU PUBLICITY DRIVE—The Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) is making an unusual attempt "to develop a greater understanding with the wider community" by presenting a week—long series of public lectures, plays and music in Johannesburg. The programme features material devised, written and produced by workers of Fosatu unions. According to an article in their newsletter, FOSATU WORKER NEWS, the talks have been prepared by small groups of workers who have been meeting over the last month. Aimed at the general public, the series began last night at the University of the Witwatersrand with a talk on "The shop steward movement in Fosatu". Tomorrow night is a talk on "Workers and Democracy" and on Thursday a talk on "Workers and the community". On Saturday there will be theatre and music, featuring an 11—man play by workers from a Durban factory. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 12 Jul 83 p 2]

DURBAN SHIPYARD SLUMP--Durban.--June was one of the worst months in many years for Durban shipbuilding companies. The executive director of one company, Mr Dick Brass, said the situation had never been as bad as it was now. He forecast that it would not improve before the end of the recession. Last month only three vessels underwent repairs in the drydock. This meant a 50% decline in repair work. Shipyards had no work and general engineering work had also shown a big drop. Mr Brass said the Government had promised to channel work to SA yards as far as possible, but there was no talk of new contracts. Hundreds of workers had been laid off and firms were hoping the Government's intentions would soon become a reality. If conditions did not improve soon many more workers would be in danger of losing their jobs.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 Jul 83 p 12]

MISSILE TEST BASE OPPOSED--Cape Town. -- It would be a "disastrous mistake" to site the proposed Armscor missile testing range on the Southern Cape Coast, according to the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce. An information circular published by the Chamber says overwhelming opposition has been expressed to the proposed site and it is the duty of everyone to preserve De Hoop and its environs. The Chamber is concerned over effects Armscor activities are likely to have on the area and has decided to join ranks with those who have registered their total opposition to the scheme. Conservationists say the Chamber's stand is encouraging as it has overridden the commercial possibilities of the missile site for Bredasdorp (often cited by Armscor and Bredasdorp officials as a benefit of the development) to support a conservationist stand. The article says that in terms of its small size and its vulnerability there can be little doubt that De Hoop, which until recently has remained relatively unscathed, is indeed a key reserve in South Africa's conservation network. It lists the important environmental factors of De Hoop and the area as the reason for its decision to oppose the testing site. These include the rich plant life and the number of endangered plant species, its rich birdlife, the bat caves near the De Hoop Vlei and the fact that the area is the centre

of the most important calving ground for the southern white whale. The Wildlife Society has 15 000 signatures for its petition and a spokesman said more were expected.—Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Jul 83 p 14]

UNREST IN CHESTERVILLE—Durban.—Police were called to Chesterville township near Durban when a group of Black youths went on the rampage and attacked the Port Natal Administration Board's office in the township late on Wednesday night. They were called to the township at about 10 pm and fired at the youths with a shotgun. The youths, who had been attending a play at a local school in the township, had set fire to the administration offices. Police managed to extinguish the fire and dispersed the youths. A man was later detained with a shotgun wound in the leg. There has been unrest in the area for the last two months because of a proposed hike in rents in the township. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Jul 83 p 9]

SOWETO QUIET AFTER UNREST--Soweto was said to be quiet yesterday after an outbreak of unrest in the township on Wednesday during which police used tear gas and sjamboks to disperse boycotting pupils from a school. A police spokesman in Pretoria described the situation in the township yesterday as "completely normal" and said police had received no further reports of unrest since Wednesday's incidents. Trouble erupted on Wednesday after an emotional meeting of about 450 pupils from the Ibhongo Secondary School, where students have been boycotting classes for more than two weeks in protest against the presence of a White principal, Mr R T Venter. Police moved in with tear gas and sjamboks and arrested 16 pupils after the pupils emerged singing from St Hilda's Church in Senaonane, where the meeting was held. At Progress Secondary School in Pimville, about 900 pupils reportedly walked out of classes on Wednesday for the second time in a week over the replacement of two Black teachers by White Teachers. -- Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Jul 83 p 8]

NEW TUCSA AFFILIATE--The TUCSA-affiliated African Tobacco Workers' Union has been admitted as a party to the Industrial Council for the tobacco industry of Rustenburg and has also negotiated a successful agreement for their members. Mr Petrus Mokoena, an official of the union, said they were happy with the agreement. "We managed to clinch a 16 percent increase in wage rates," he said. The agreement also includes the following: Payment for public holidays falling on a Saturday; accumulated sick leave of four weeks; the Rustenburg workers may belong to the Medical Benefit Fund of the Johannesburg Industrial Council. Together with the National Union of Cigarette and Tobacco Wrokers, the African Tobacco Workers' Union has concluded new wage agreements that give their members a better deal. In terms of the new deal, the workers have been given a pay rise of 14 percent. Commenting on the new agreement, Miss Chris du Preez, general secretary of the two unions, said it was a very good agreement in these times of economic recession. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 22 Jul 83 p 3]

AFRICAN LEAGUE PARTY--In a move seen as an attempt to unseat the present community council leadership in Soweto, a new civic party is to be launched in Johannesburg tonight, to start campaigning for the forthcoming council elections. The formation of the new body, African League Party, is likely to send shock-waves throughout the country as some of the personalities involved are known to have been bitter opponents of participation in Government-created civic and political bodies. Details of the founding of the party and the names of personalities involved have been kept a closely guarded secret. But the SOWETAN established the structure of the new party and also obtained a list of eight people involved. They include among others, prominent business personalities, social and community leaders and some well-known journalists. Details of the new body and its functions will be announced to selected guests who have been invited to the inaugural meeting to be held at the Johannesburg City Hall (Duncan Hall) from 5.15 tonight. The SOWETAN has in its possession a document which sets out the structure and the functions of the league. This will include the civic wing of the organisation, whose major aim shall be to gain greater control of civil institutions so that "blacks can have a co-ordinated and substantive direction of local administration." The thrust of the civic wing works from the premise that local administration provides a power base for social, cultural and economic development in black areas. Blacks will be able to "gain experience in administration" and the African League Party shall "press for the implementation of the De Lange Commission's recommendation and for education to be a local issue". [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 21 Jul 83 p 1]

WCC SLAMS 'COLLABORATORS'--The "collaboration" of some western states with Pretoria's "racist regime" is a major obstacle to ending apartheid in South Africa, says the World Council of Churches (WCC). It has called on all Christians to show "solidarity with the oppressed". "Discussion papers" refer to racism in Latin America, North America and Pacific countries, but single out the South African Government for specific attention. "The political, economic and military collaboration with the racist regime by certain western states and their trans-national corporations has continued to encourage South Africa's intransigence and defiance of the international community." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Jul 83 p 3]

#### BRIEFS

DELEGATION VISITED TAIWAN--The Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives in its move to strengthen and expand the agricultural industry in the country, recently sent two senior officers to Taiwan for a study tour of that country's agricultural industry. The senior officers, Mr Gilbert Dlamini, deputy principal secretary and Mr Victor Phungwayo director of agriculture, left the country on June 30 and returned on July 7. During the tour the officers were afforded the opportunity to estimate the quality of Research Institutions involved in food and vegetable crops breeding and evaluation, plant protection and quarantine. The officers also toured research institutions involved in pesticide safety evaluation, monitoring of the effects of chemicals on the environment, breeding and evaluation of all types of tropical and sub-tropical fruit trees including farmers organisations. The officers observed that Taiwan has made tremendous strides in all the fields and it is among the most developed countries of the world. also observed that Taiwan is much more better in food production than many countries. [as published] As a result the officers made a resolution that Swaziland stands to gain a lot, technically, by strengthening and expanding the activities of the Chinese Agricultural Mission in Swaziland. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan, under whose wing the International Technical Co-operation Programme which sponsors the Chinese Agricultural Mission in Swaziland, is ready to give assistance. With the assistance the ministry reckons that it can make a meaningful contribution towards making Swaziland, not only self-sufficient in its basic foodstuffs, but to assist in broadening agricultural activities which will help keep the rural population in the rural areas. An encouraging feature of Taiwanese agriculture is that all agricultural production comes from small family size farms which are no more than 1.10 ha. [Text] [Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 19 Jul 83 p 5]

CHINESE MAIZE—The Chinese maize production scheme which has five sub missions in the country will exchange 7,000 bags of maize to the C.C.U. in Manzini said Mr andrea Serpagli the C.C.U. marketing manager. This is to meet the over drought faced by the Kingdom said Serpagli. The drought which has affected the entire Kingdom has forced us to import 4,000 bags of white maize from South Africa and this will cost about E64,000 and this maize will be sold to our local customers which has been affected by the drought, said Mr Serpagli. [as published] The price of a maize bag in South Africa is E16,00 and here in Swaziland the prices are different

because it depends upon the location. Our customers have placed orders of 8,000 bags from July to December and that demand has forced us to exchange the 7,000 bags with the Chinese scheme. The C.C.U. does not buy the maize from the Chinese but is just an exchange. They give us their maize and through our depot across the country we provide them with imports such as fertilize, chemicals and maize seeds, said Mr Serpagli. [as published] Mr Serpagli said that they got 120 bags of maize from Lubombo and they are still expecting about 600 bags from Hhohho, 500 bags from Manzini and nothing is expected from Shiselweni because it is the only district that has been most hit by drought. The C.C.U. have placed centres in Sandlane where the maize will be sold to local customers said Mr Serpagli. [Text] [Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 19 Jul 83 p 5]

PAPER CALLS FOR END TO 'INFIGHTING' -- Is it confusion or is it a matter of who is fooling who? We are not happy at all about the in-fighting that is taking its rounds among our country's leaders and elders. The in-fighting that has caught most of us napping is a problem of our own making. No country, no man and no creature was born or created with a problem. All the problems, should they be economical, social, political or otherwise, are problems of our own making created by man, and, therefore, man should find a solution to them. For us in Swaziland we cannot find scapegoats to such problems which are up to our necks. As the architects of such problems, we just have to find a solution to them without necessarily losing our cool heads. We plead with our leaders and elders to forget about their differences and come together as sons and daughters of one family and try all their best with their cool heads to find a permanent solution to the problem which, hitherto, seems to be getting out of hand. We hope that in all sincerity and in the interest of Swaziland our elders will bury their hatchet and come together to find a durable solution to the in-fighting problem. [Text] [MB120702 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 12 Aug 83 p 4]

### ZANZIBAR GOVERNMENT LEGISLATES ON LAND USE

EA122003 Zanzibar Domestic Service in Swahili 1600 GMT 12 Aug 83

[Text] Zanzibar--The government has called on the relevant institutions to legislate severe penalties against anyone misusing land in the islands. The directive is occasioned by the current misuse of land and its aim is to make the scarce land we have productive.

The directive to draw up the legislation was issued today by the president of Zanzibar, Ndugu Aboud Jumbe, during a meeting at State House with ministers and a number of regional, district and other government officials. He said: The Tanzanian Islands face a major land crisis, for the land is badly under-utilized in terms of food and cash crop production.

Ndugu Jumbe also ordered the formation of a land ownership commission to be given wide powers to ensure that land is being utilized for social development. The commission will also engage in the preparation of procedures to be applied to planning and land utilization to ensure that the land we have is properly used.

Referring to cash crops, Ndugu Jumbe directed each of the regional governments to cultivate 1,000 acres of cardamon. He said: If we do this we shall soon extricate ourselves from dependence on the single cash crop of cloves as we do now. He added that in the meantime the clove crop must be maintained while we investigate other crops to help us, such as cardamon and pepper, which will be cultivated in the clove areas and on stony soil too, due to the scarcity of our land.

The president of Zanzibar, Ndugu Aboud Jumbe, said: In order to improve our performance we must apply sound knowledge. He asked the ministries to use our experts and if there are not enough of them, experts from abroad should be engaged to speed up development.

cso: 3449/26

#### BRIEFS

BULGARIAN JOINT COMMISSION—Arusha delegates attending a Tanzania-Bulgaria joint commission session in Arusha today began a 3-day holiday. The Bulgarian delegates, led by member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party Ndugu Pencho Kubadinski, left for a visit to Ngorongoro National Park. The joint commission is expected to continue with its 6-day session on 12 August before issuing a joint communique on the strengthening of relations in economic, scientific, and technological fields. The Tanzanian delegation at the talks is led by Industries Minister Ndugu Basil Mramba. The Bulgarian delegation is expected to return home 15 August. [Text] [Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1700 GMT 9 Aug 83]

AGREEMENTS WITH PRC--Dar es Salaam--Tanzania and China have reached an agreement under which China will send technical experts to study problems of the Chinese-built friendship textile mills and the Ubungo farm implements factory, (Kizako), both of which are in Dar es Salaam. The agreement was reached at the end of bilateral talks held in the city yesterday. An official of the Ministry of Finance said last night that the Chinese experts will be assigned to study the possibility of implementing various projects and to recommend measures for implementing them. The principal secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Ndugu Fulgence Kazaura, said one of the study teams will study the troubled Ruvu-Mpiji portion of the central railway line and recommend to the government ways of improving the situation. He revealed that China had agreed to enter into agreement with Tanzania on the establishment of a joint timber products company and the building of Chinese restaurants in Dar es Salaam and Arusha. [Text] [Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 0400 GMT 13 Aug 83]

AGREEMENTS WITH BULGARIA--Arusha--Tanzania and Bulgaria have agreed to set up a firm implement project in Mwanza. The agreement is under a 1983-84 protocol signed by the two countries in Arusha. A communique issued at the end of talks said the two countries will also execute bricks and tiles projects in Mbeya and Arusha during the period and expand the Dodoma winery project and the Kigamboni farm in Dar es Salaam. During the talks, the two sides also reached a firm understanding on the establishment of joint ventures in the near future in agriculture. [Excerpts] [Dar es Salaam in English to East Central and Southern Africa 0400 GMT 14 Aug 83]

# OBJECTIVES OF NATIONAL COUNCIL SESSION DISCUSSED

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 26 Jul 83 p 1

#### [Editorial]

#### [Text]

THE current session of the National Council is not only extra-ordinary by name but more so for the type of business for which it has been convened.

It comes at a time when Zambia is preparing for presidential and parliamentary elections and when the country is facing so many questions both at home and beyond.

So it is a crucial National Council which will determine the direction Zambia takes from now— and President Kaunda set the mood yesterday when he opened the session at Mulungushi conference Hall.

Delegates, invited guests and those who listened to the President's speech might have wondered why he did not make the election issue the central theme since 1983 is election year.

The answer can be found in Dr Kaunda's address itself. He minced no words and laid his cards on the table for the whole nation to see.

Those who, therefore, still doubt him must as well have their heads examined because if Zam-

bia has not had a leader of President Kaunda's stature and calibre over the past 19 years the nation would not have been what it is today.

Certainly we are a blessed nation to have Dr Kaunda at the top. Think of all these years when at times things seemed not to be going our way in politics, economy and other fields but President Kaunda handled matters so ably and Zambia triumphed.

Even yesterday he stressed the point that Zambia is experiencing and will continue to suffer economic hardships but that with hard work in unity as one nation with one purpose she will overcome as before.

We have no hesitation or apologies to state categorically that Zambians must give Dr Kaunda yet another mandate to steer the nation to prosperity.

The President spoke at

The President spoke at length on the economy of the country giving the background to its development and the circumstances which led to the present malaise.

He outlined the measures the Party and its Gov-

ernment is taking to reinvigorate the economy. But the solution, as the President pointed out, really lies in the sacrifice every Zambian must make.

Let us all accept that we are in hard times as a nation and that no amount of finger-pointing or passing the buck will lift Zambia out of the mire but that hard work will.

Besides economic problems Zambia is grappling with the question of liberation and yesterday the National Council was honoured by the presence of SWAPO president Sam Nujoma.

Mr Nujoma paid tribute to Zambia for the untiring contribution she is making towards the freedom struggle of Namibia; it is a pity that the West, more especially the United States, is abetting South Africa to delay Namibian independence.

In South Africa itself the ANC is fighting for human dignity and equality but Pieter Botha and his clique still think they are living in those far-off Laager days of that Voortrekker Andries Potgieter. They are blind to the wind of change sweeping across Africa.

All in all it is our deep conviction that the National Council will deliberate seriously and prepare the ground for next month's General Conference.

MINISTRY PROBES DE-ZAMBIANIZATION, SERVICE CONDITIONS AT CPC

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 11 Aug 83 p 1

# [Excerpt] THE Ministry of Labour and Social Services has launched investigations into charges of de-Zambianisation and deteriorating conditions of service at Copperbelt Power Company (CPC) in Kitwe.

And in another development, the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) announced it was stepping into the wrangle between CPC management and Zambian graduate engineers warning it was taking a "move" which its chairman Mr Frederick Chiluba said would be made known at a later stage.

In an interview with the **Times**, Mr Chiluba warned anybody frustrating Zambian graduates in the mining industry would be "fought" by the ZCTU and its affiliate Mineworkers Union of Zambia (MUZ).

Speaking in a separate interview, Labour Minister Mr Frederick Hapunda announced his ministry was studying the charges made by the Zambian engineers in the petition and documents submitted to him.

The ministry would soon make a statement after studying the documents and talking to CPC management over the charges.

"We have to get the full stry from both sides. Let CPC

management refute or admit the charges.'

Mr Hapunda assured the engineers his ministry had not ignored their petition. "We have a job to investigate the validity of the charges and we also have to look at the other side of it.

Mr Chiluba said: "It will be suicidal for me to ignore the complaints from workers whatever category they are in."

He had examined the petition and the documents from the engineers. He was in the process of meeting MUZ "because the matter requires a lot of study to be authenticated."

Anybody frustrating Zambian graduates in whatever industry must be fought.

Using expatriate labour force was the same as using borrowed time and Zambia could not afford to continue doing so.

On the reported final warning given to the engineers over the petition, he warned CPC management it was not an island and the company worked within the laws of Zambia.

CPC engineers were rightly entitled to write to the ZCTU. "If expatriate labour fights indigenous people and harasses workers, we can hit back in our own way."

"If expatriates can harass Zambians in Zambia what more in Europe. Zambian graduates must be respected because they are the backbone of our country."

Meanwhile, the Government has been urged to intervene in the wrangle before the situation gets out of hand reports Zana.

Wusakili Member of Parliament, Mr Dennis Katilungu said in Kitwe yesterday the engineers who had petitioned ZCCM chief executive, Mr Francis Kaunda over poor working conditions, had a "genuine" complaint and could be ignored only at the company's own peril.

He accused the CPC management of waging a well orchestrated campaign to frustrate Zambian engineers to maintain the domination of expatriates.

"I have no doubt there is a plot within the management to degrade Zambian engineers. The Government should not allow this to continue," Mr Katilungu said.

The Government should intervene to rectify the situation as a prolonged wrangle would have adverse effects on the supply of power to Zambia's vital mining industry.

#### ZCTU CHAIRMAN COMMENTS ON ZALSA ALLEGATIONS

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 11 Aug 83 p 5

[Text]

ZAMBIA Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) will not shout slogans for other people to know it supports the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, chairman Mr Frederick Chiluba said in Ndola yesterday.

Mr Chiluba was commenting on allegations by Zambia Association for the Liberation of Southern Africa (ZALSA) in Sunday Times that the ZCTU had lamentably failed to identify itself with the struggling workers of Namibia and South Africa.

He said the remarks should be dismissed with the contempt they deserved.

In a paper presented to a symposium on racism and racial discrimination at the weekend, ZALSA said: "Frontline states' support should not be confined to the political level only but must also extend to the labour movement.

"In this connection, it is fitting to say that the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) has lamentably failed to identify itself with the struggling workers of South Africa and Namibia, let alone to render moral and material support."

But Mr Chiluba said the allegations were calculated insults aimed at mortifying the ZCTU whose personnel and resources had always been available for the Southern Africa cause.

"ZCTU believes strongly that the true champions of the struggle tor independence in South Africa and Namibia are the indigenous people of those countries.

"The ZCTU will not shout slogans just to win recognition that they are in the fight because this is not our intention."

Mr Chiluba said ZCTU had contributed to the fight for independence in Southern Africa by contributing "part of its meagre resources" to the liberation front through the Party.

He said last week ZCTU contributed K1,500 to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) to help them run a seminar and the congress made regular contributions to the Organisation of African Trade Unions Unity (OATUU) budget.

"ZCTU is a thorn in the OATUU because of lumping the Palestine question with that of the Liberation of Southern Africa.

Mr Chiluba said ZCTU believed that the chairs in Palestine and elsewhere must be broken but OATUU must be primarily concerned with the African question.

"Sadly for us, each time we meet at an OATUU meeting the Palestine question takes priority and we cannot understand it."

#### BANK OF ZAMBIA ISSUES MARCH 1983 FINANCIAL REPORT

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 10 Aug 83 p 4

[Text] ZAMBIA's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which stood at an estimated K3,221.4 million last year is not expected to grow significantly in 1983.

The problem has been caused by rapid population growth, low copper prices and transport problems whose effect on the rest of the economy is that the real GDP per head is estimated to be about half now of its level in 1965.

This is said in the Bank of Zambia financial report of March 1983 which recalls that the major components of GDP last year were community, social and personal services which accounted for 20.4 percent compared to 5.9 per cent from the mining sector.

"GDP is less dependent on mineral production than it used to be, as other sectors have developed. Coal and phosphates are important particularly for domestic consumption as they displace expensive imports."

Copper represented 86 per cent of Zambia's exports in 1981, and the report reaffirms that the problems of the mining industry are being tackled.

It cites among other things, about K200 million which was released early last year from a variety of official and private overseas sources including the World Bank and the European Investment Bank for a minor new project to extract copper from tailings at well below the

current avarage cost of pro-

On the general financial recovery programme the report welcomes the Government's decision to restore financial stability on the economy particularly in public finances and the mining sector.

The move is aimed at dealing systematically with Zambia's foreign debt and to halt the deterioration in the balance of payments.

"The Government remains committed to the restoration of economic growth through structural diversification of the economy and to the achievement of balance of payments viability over the medium term," it says.

The major elements of this programme are:

● An agreement with the IMF of a stand-by facility which, with additional comensatory finance for past export shortfalls will provide substantial foreign exchange in 1983.

Reduction of the budget deficit through tight restraint on Government expenditure, especially on subsidies, higher taxation and improved performance of public sector enterprises. Encouragement of the structural adjustment of the Zambian economy through a 20 per cent devaluation of the Kwacha, and decontrol of prices and producer price incentives for agriculture.

Sceking from Zambia's creditors an alleviation of the burden of servicing its public foreign debt.

 A systematic approach to reducing outstanding arrears on foreign commercial payments starting in 1983

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY SECOND NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING NOTED

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 6 Aug 83 p 1

# THE Party has called for the establishment of a special youth corps within the Zambia National Service, police and the defence forces to help fight crime.

This is one of the resolutions passed by the second extra-ordinary National Council meeting last week and released in Lusaka yesterday by Chairman of the Elections and Publicity Sub-Committee of the Central Committee Mr Bob Litana.

"Recognising that crime is on the increase and that abundant youth manpower trained by the ZNS in security is available, the council resolved that a special youth corps should be created."

#### Prices

Another resolution says cooperatives, companies and individuals should be allowed to mine emeralds to sell to the Reserved Minerals Corporation which should be decentralised.

Other recommendations which Mr Litana read out to newsmen were:

Prices of essential goods, including fertiliser, seed maize, insecticides and other commodities be announced at budget time only to avoid ad hoc price announcements which disrupt economic planning;

 Retail prices of locallyproduced commodities be determined at the factory, but giving allowance for transport costs for traders in outlying areas;

The Government should speed up the process of transferring power of allocating land now vested in the commissioner of lands to the district councils in line with the Party policy of giving power to the people;

● With availability of funds, district councils should build cheap houses for either rent or sale to eliminate squatter settlements and forestall exploitation by "greedy landlords" who build houses for rent without providing proper facilities.

On agriculture, the Party urged the Agricultural Finance Company (AFC) to make deliberate bias towards giving more financial help to peasants and cooperatives.

There should be rationalisation in the purchase, distribution and handling of fertiliser and containers by allowing provincial marketing unions to deal directly with the source of supply.

"Zambia should negotiate the purchase of patents of selected agricultural and industrial equipment and other plants in order to have spare parts manufactured locally by small-scale industries or other engineering concerns," another resolution read.

On Party organisation and

administration, the Council directed that to ensure this was effective at places of work, managers of enterprises and senior civil servants should be trained in socialist management.

It resolved that the University of Zambia and the National Council for Scientific Research should continue with their research into plants to discover more medicines.

The Council which endorsed President Kaunda as the sole candidate for the presidential elections, praised the Women's League for the "successful launching and implementation" of projects in some provinces.

On foreign affairs, the Council strongly censured the acts of racist South Africa and condemned zionism, Imperialism, racism and other evils.

It pledged Zambia's continued support for Angola, SWAPO, and the African National Congress of South Africa in their struggle to free Namibia and South Africa from the last vestiges of imperialism.

The Council praised Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos who was in the country during its session for his "epoch-making, moving, resounding, articulate, and scientific address" to delegates.

#### SITET FAILURE TO COLLECT FINES REPORTED

# Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 23 Jul 83 p 1

[Text]

MORE than 50 per cent of the K12.5 million imposed in fines by the Special Investigations Team for Economy and Trade (SITET) on exchange control defaulters has not been collected because of shoddy bookkeeping.

In its report for the fifth session of the fourth National Assembly the public accounts committee has recommended for the streamlining of SITET

accounts.

The report says written accounting instructions found in use by SITET on the imposition and collection of fines were inadequate contrary to recommendations of the committee.

The permanent secretary in the Ministry of Finance admitted before the committee that internal controls were ineffective in Government ministries and departments although his ministry was reviewing the matter.

The committee chaired by Matero Member of Parliament, Mr Francis Nkhoma was dismayed at the situation and condemned the lack of coordination between various ministries and departments and the Ministry of Finance.

The committee's examination of the accounts of SITET revealed that little was being done to recover fines imposed on defaulters.

 More than K200,000 for a promisory note issued by an offender and handed over to the Bank of Zambia in 1978 for clearance had not been credited to the main account of the Government:

An amount of K3,000 which was credited to the Ministry of Finance bank account in London during December, 1981 for SITET has not been transferred to the main account of the Government;

Between 1978 and 1981 an average of not more than 50 per cent of SITET receipts had been collected against a total figure of K12.5 million for the four years in question.

The report is a catalogue of financial indiscipline in various ministries and Government departments throughout the country, including the Party headquarters.

At Freedom House the committee discovered that ten motor vehicles valued at K52,118 were bought without Tender Board authority and six vehicles valued at K38,331 were either stolen or lost between 1979 and 1981 and no loss reports were raised to cover the losses.

Six other vehicles valued at K51,336 were not available for "physical inspection" at the time of the committee's visit.

At the Party headquarters the committee found K12,634 issued to officers as special imprest was written off in April, 1981, without authority.

# PEACE MARRED BY BORDER SKIRMISHES, SAYS KAUNDA

# Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 26 Jul 83 p 1

[Text]

BORDER problems between Zambia, Malawi and Zaire are hampering the country's policy to maintain friendly relations with all its neighbours, President Kaunda said yesterday.

But he hoped the disputes would be solved amicably.

"We want to have friendly relations with all our neighbours. I believe we have at the moment good relations with all our neighbours although between Zaire, Malawi and us, there are some/disputes concerning border lines in some parts of our country," said Dr Kaunda.

It did not make sense for any "of us to quarrel for we are one people in this region."

The President said for this reason all the countries in the region should work towards further collaboration.

It was for the same reason Zambia had welcomed the formation of SADCC and the PTA and any attempts to strengthen the Frontline states.

#### Hoped

He hoped one day the groupings would be translated into strong political unions and not just economic groups.

In an attempt to foster closer links between Zambia and her neighbours the top Party leadership, including himself, had made a number of visits to neighbouring countries to cement relations.

In this connection last May he went to Tanzania for a meeting of Frontline heads of state, and had been to Angola and Zaire last month for talks on bilateral matters.

"Let me once again make it clear that the aim of the Party and its Government in making all these efforts is to create conditions in which Zambia's interests will be safe-guarded as we help to safeguard the interests of our friends," he said.

Zambia's friendship with other countries guaranteed her own security and economic prosperity.

Zambia's close relations with other countries fostered international understanding among different people which was the first step towards world peace.

He reiterated Zambia's commitment to non-alignment and said the aim of her foreign policy was to cooperate with all states irrespective of their social system.

As Zambia valued friendship with others the Party and its Government was keen to make new friends and "to strengthen ties with old ones."

# TAZARA'S FINANCIAL POSITION 'CRITICAL,' SAYS NYTRENDA

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 27 Jul 83 p 1

[Text]

TAZARA's financial position is critical and urgent measures are needed to resuscitate it, general manager Brigadier-General Charles Nyirenda has said.

He said in an interview from Dar es Salaam, operations had been adversely affected by the line's cash problems which he described as "crippling."

This had been caused by lack of import traffic coming into Zambia through the port of Dar es Salaam.

"Empty wagons run from Dar to the Copperbelt to load metal for export at Tazara's expense and this is crippling our financial position."

Tazara has a capacity for 80,000 tonnes a month in either direction, but this had never been realised since the line's inception in August 1976 because it had been beset by operational difficulties.

The Tazara council of ministers has for some time urged Zambia to increase its load on the line.

Zambian-bound cargo on Tazara fell considerably after the closure of Tanzania's border with Kenya.

Inadequate rolling stock and problems in externalising Tazara funds from Zambia had in the past been major constraints.

It is estimated the line requires at least 60 new locomotive engines for normal operations.

#### Measures

Recently Tazara acquired nine locomotive engines from West Germany, but these were not enough to meet the system's needs.

system's needs.

The Bank of Zambia and the Central Bank of Tanzania worked out measures to streamline the remittance of Tazara money from Zambia.

In 1976 Zambia imported 240,000 tonnes of goods through Tazara but the total imports and exports through the route last year amounted to 272,654 tonnes.

Zambia gradually began channelling traffic through the southern route after 1976 because of delays in processing imports at the Dar es Salaam harbour.

In 1980 Zambia imported 370,000 tonnes of goods through the Zimbabwean railway line.

This was against 243,720 tonnes which came in through Tazara in the same year.

Congestion at the Dar es Salaam harbour was at one time so acute that ships carrying Zambian cargo had to wait for breathing space

for up to 30 days.

This cost Zambia an average of 3,000 US dollars per ship in demurrage charges.

#### GROUNDNUTS PRICE RAISED OVER ONE HUNDRED PERCENT

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 23 Jul 83 p 1

[Text]

THE Zambia Seed Company (Zamseed) has raised this season's retail price for all varieties of groundnuts by more than 100 per cent from K43 to K102.40 a 40 kg

A company spokesman said this increase and that of other seeds for the 1983/84 season had been prompted by the Government's withdrawal of handling and distribution subsidies.

He called the increases "very realistic" and said the company was sympathetic with farmers who had been facing a spiral of rising prices of inputs.

With the increases, which are effective from last April 1. a 10-kg bag of SR 52 will now cost K13.80 from K12 while 50 kg of the same variety will go at K60.30 from last season's K52.

The ZH variety of maize seed will sell at K9.50 a ten kg bag from last season's K8. The 50 kg bag will be K40 from K32.70.

Sunflower composite will cost K9.30 a five-kg bag which used to sell at K7.50 while the price for the 25 kg bag has gone up to K39 from K30.10.

Fifty kg of all varieties of soyabeans will now fetch K58.50 from K47.75. The same weight for all vaireties of wheat will sell at K38.50 from K28.15.

But the spokesman had good news for sorghum farmers. Because of "efficiency" on the part of those involved in growing the crop, the company had decided to reduce the price from K9 on a ten kg bag to K8. and from K40 to K35 on the 50 kg bag.

Meanwhile, specialists at Mount Makulu Research Station have advised farmers in drought-prone areas to start growing sorghum which is more drought resistant than maize.

Especially recommended is the first Zambian sorghum variety known as ZSV-1 which the researchers say is better able to survive short rainy seasons than other sorghums and maize.

'• Zambia will this year import less maize than last year, Minister of Agriculture and Water Development Mr Unia Mwila said in Lusaka yesterday.

He said farmers had produced 6.6 million bags of maize which was more than the 5.6 produced last year. Because of this "We will therefore import less maize than we did last year."

In an interview, Mr Mwila said importing maize was the responsibility of the contingency planning unit in the Ministry of Works and Supply.

He was reacting to claims by the Commercial Farmers Bureau which has warned of famine in Southern Africa by March next year when it predicts that there would virtually be no maize because of recurrent droughts.

And Zana reports that Southern Province Cooperative Marketing Union has so far collected and stored produce worth more than K4.7 million from rural depots, commercial manager Mr Samuel Malundu said yesterday.

Mr Malundu said the union had enough vehicles to move produce from rural depots. The exercise was going on well.

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#### MUNDIA RECEIVES NORAD GRANT FOR LIMULUNGA-SENANGA ROAD

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 9 Aug 83 pp 1, 5

[Text] THE recently legislated Road Toll Act takes effect on September 1, Prime Minister Mundia announced in

Lusaka yesterday.

Speaking when he received a K4 million grant from the Norwegian International Development Agency (NORAD) at the Ministry of Finance, Mr Mundia said parts of the Act would be implemented on September 1.

The toll tax had been necessitated by the heavy cost of road maintenance. Many Zambian roads had been constructed with the use of borrowed funds which the Government was now finding difficult to repay.

Capitalist and communist states should emulate the example of the Scandinavian countries of helping developing nations through grants.

The K4 million grant was for the completion of the Limulunga-Senanga road. If the example of the Scandinavian countries was emulated the much-talked about North-South dialogue would be a reality.

He told Norwegian resident representative in Zambia Mr Arnfinn Sorensen, who signed for his country, that Nordic countries, particularly Norway had adopted a progressive policy of giving economic help to developing nations.

Since Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark gave grants instead of loans, Third World countries did not owe them anything.

Even in cases where a Scandinavian country gave a loan no interest was charged.

"One would say, in fact, that if capitalist and communist countries emulated the example of Scandinavian countries. then we would have found a solution in the North-South dialogue aimed at establishing a new world economic order."

When Mr Mundia went to Paris to negotiate for the rescheduling of debts with the Paris Club, Scandinavian countries attended the meeting as observers because "although they have helped us, we did not owe them anything."

thing."
Mr Mundia asked Mr Sorensen to convey to Norway and other Scandinavian countries Zambia's gratitude for their help.

This year Norway, through NORAD, had given Zambia more than K18 million in grants.

Norway netped in various fields like agriculture and water development. Mr Mundia said the water project in Western Province for which NUKAD spent K3 million a year, was one of the organisation's major projects in Zambia.

NORAD was active in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) projects and gave the example of the North-Western Province microwave link into which NORAD had pumped about K10 million in

grants.

Technical and commodity assistance were other areas in which NORAD participated in Zambia's development programme.

"NORAD help outside regular country programme has included support to northern and western museums and the important Limulunga-Senanga road."

Yesterday's agreement was significant because it would go towards the completion of the road which had been held up for five years since, Zambia did not have foreign exchange to pay contractors.

In reply Mr Sorensen said his country had experienced a period of poverty in the past and it was for this reason it felt duty-bound to share her current riches with others.

Norway had stopped giving loans about 15 years ago so that countries like Zambia "should not owe us anything except that we should be friends," he added. — Times Reporter/Zana.

# UNZA RESEARCH LIKENS MAHEBA REFUGEE CAMP TO 'IMPRISONMENT'

# Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 11 Aug 83 p 1

[Text]

THE resettlement of refugees at Maheba camp in Solwezi has been likened to "imprisonment" of inmates, according to the findings of a University of Zambia research into the refugee problem in the country.

A report just released says that although camp resettlement may be an easier logistical and administrative solution for the host government, it is in the long-term an unacceptable humanitarian way to deal with the problem.

The report is based on the findings of refugees and displaced persons in the Mwinilunga, Zambezi, Kabompo and Solwezi districts in the North-Western Province.

The study was sponsored by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

The report recommends that the strategy to deal with the problem should be "allowing refugees to settle in villages rather than being confined into camps".

"Many of the refugees interviewed regarded being settled into Maheba camp as tantamount to imprisonment".

The report is critical of the Government, which it says has no long-term policy towards the refugee problem. The need for a long-term approach could be justified by the "apparent prospects for continuing political unrest in the two neighbouring countries — Zaire and Angola".

tries — Zaire and Angola'.

On hardships faced by refugees, the report says they have found problems in coping with the politicolegal structure of the host Government.

And because of no clear policy on refugees status and no administrative network to help in providing documentation, most of them are subjected to continual harassment and denied access to social services.

Many requests were made to the Unza researchers by refugees to obtain national registration cards which they regarded as essential documents "not only to guarantee safety but vital means of integration in the community".

• More Angolans are trekking into Zambia via the North-Western Province border after renewed hostilities on the Angolan side between UNITA rebels and government troops.

Last week 40 Angolans arrived at Zambezi boma and are still camped in a mission hall.

Zambezi district executive secretary Mr Andsen Masenga said in an interview at the weekend they would soon be transferred to Maheba camp.

#### BRIEFS

RAILWAY PROBLEMS—Tanzania and Zambia have been told that Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority [TAZARA], their jointly owned railway line, can be saved if they meet debts amounting to millions of kwacha. A team of Chinese experts told the two countries that the railway was plagued with massive financial problems mainly because Zambia's currency restrictions had slowed payments to the company's headquarters in Tanzania. They also emphasized the need for strictly controlled operational costs. Also mentioned in a technical report were problems with spare parts due to the extreme age of rolling stock and soil subsidence on certain track sections. [Text] [MB110849 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 11 Aug 83]

BLOCKED UDI FUNDS--Money blocked in Zambia and Zimbabwe for the past 18 years is to be released after an agreement reached between the Bank of Zimbabwe and the Bank of Zambia. According to the weekly FINANCIAL GAZETTE in Zimbabwe, individuals and companies from both Zambia and Zimbabwe who had their bank accounts in either country blocked on 22 December 1965 following the unilateral declaration of independence, now had a chance of getting their money. Thousands of individual Zambians and many local companies had their bank accounts blocked in Zimbabwe after UDI, and reciprocal action was taken by Zambia against Zimbabwean accounts held in Zambian banks. The paper says residents of Zambia should apply to their Zimbabwean bankers for the release of funds. The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe will then credit these amounts into a special account for the Bank of Zambia, which will then pay out locally the equivalent amount in Zambian kwacha. The same system will apply to applications from Zimbabwe for the release of funds blocked in Zambia. [Text] [MB130922 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 13 Aug 83]

UNION WAGE PROPOSALS—The Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, ZCTU, has worked out fresh proposals aimed at breaking the impasse over the controversial 10-percent wage ceiling and speeding up the negotiation process. The proposals, which will be submitted to the appropriate authorities shortly, were hammered out at an extraordinary ZCTU Executive Committee meeting held in Lusaka yesterday. ZCTU chairman general Frederick Chiluba said at a press conference that, following the holding of the extraordinary meeting, the Congress has decided to call off next Saturday's General Council meeting, and advised all those who should have attended the meeting not to travel. [Text] [MB190721 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 19 Aug 83]

PRC AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' HELP--Central Province member of the Central Committee. (Samuel Mlungushi) has commended the contribution Chinese workers are making toward the development of the country. Mr (Mlungushi) said the party and its government are grateful to the Chinese personnel working in Zambia for having put up tremendous work on various projects. The member of the Central Committee said this when he received the new Chinese delegation which has come to the country to teach Zambian farmers how to grow 16 varieties of rice suitable for local weather conditions. Speaking at a brief ceremony, Mr (Mlungushi) urged Zambians to emulate the hardworking spirit of the Chinese comrades. Mr (Mlungushi) welcomed the 10-man Chinese delegation led by Mr (Yen Yeng Seng), and at the same time he bid farewell to the old team led by Mr (Chao Kian Liu). He praised the Chinese Government for having replaced the outgoing team without taking time. Mr (Liu) disclosed that (Kafushi) rice scheme in Kabwe [word indistinct] where the Chinese team will be operating from had produced a total of 77 varieties, but only 16 were found suitable after experiments. Mr (Liu) added that the new delegation's task is to train Zambian personnel in not only rice growing but also teaching the making of small farm implements, including hoes and axes. [Text] [MB161228 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 16 Aug 83]

MUNDIA ON U.S. INVESTMENT--Prime Minister Nalumina Mundia has congratulated Mobil Oil Zambia for capturing two big contracts for selling bitumen to Luanda and other neighboring countries. Mr Mundia said he was particularly pleased with [words indistinct] by Mobil Oil to supply bitumen to that country for 5 years, and will earn Zambia millions of kwacha in foreign exchange. The prime minister said further that he was particularly pleased that the contract was achieved in stiff competition against big international European companies. Mr Mundia made the remarks in his office yesterday when he met Mobil Oil area executive for Africa and the Middle East. (Bob Wells) from New York; the regional manager for Central Africa, (Bob Datmore), based in Nairobi, and the company's managing director in Zambia, (Drew Stein). Mr Mundia also invited American companies to invest in the country, as the political climate is very stable. He told the Mobil executives about the plans to modernize Mpulungu harbor with the help of the EEC to accelerate exports to Burundi and Rwanda. Mr (Stein) briefed the prime minister about the progress made in the construction of the lubricant plant which Mobil hopes will be completed next year. [Text] [MB130804 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 13 Aug 83]

UN TEAM ARRIVES—An eight—man UN team arrived in Zambia yesterday to consider the impact the problem of refugees has imposed on the national economy and see what assistance the country might request. The team is headed by (David Feldman), who is coordinator of the UN technical team for the International Conference on Assistance for Refugees in Africa, [INCARA]. Briefing newsmen on the team's visit in Lusaka, Mr (Feldman) said his team was on a tour of several African countries to assess their need for current assistance to refugees. Once the data was collected, the team would hand the information to the INCARA II conference to be held in Geneva in July next year. [Text] [MB111055 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 11 Aug 83]

COTTON SAVED -- LINTCO is rushing 40,000 packaging bags to save about eight million kilogrammes of cotton in Mumbwa threatened with destruction because of the shortage of packs. General manager Mr William Mantanyani said in Lusaka yesterday his company had "slipped on the distribution of wool packs" but would rush the bags to Mumbwa immediately. He said the district had produced more cotton than Lintco estimated this year but he thought that 40,000 bags would be enough to cover all the year's crop. Officers from the marketing department were there last week to assess packaging needs. Earlier, chairman of the Mumbwa Farmers Association Mr Vincent Sibanda said about eight million kilogrammes of cotton would be wasted unless Lintco supplied packaging immediately. He said Lintco had so far been unable to provide bags to farmers who had stored cotton in sheds and houses which were unsuitable. Considering that there were only two months to go before rains set in, it was imperative that Lintco supplied the bags. Mr Sibanda said cotton was a foreign exchange earner for the country and it was important that it was made available for export in time. "The whole country expects cotton exports would earn us foreign exchange. It is important that Lintco expedites the purchase of cotton from farmers." He accused Lintco of slackening. There was a common feeling among farmers that Linto should maintain its efficiency in the interest of the nation. [Text] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 27 Jul 83 p 1]

AMMONIUM NITRATE PRODUCTION--ZAMBIA is the only country in Africa which produces ammonium nitrate from coal used in making fertiliser and explosives. Nitrogen Chemicals general manager Mr Chisambwe Kapihya said this when Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu visited the plant in Kafue yesterday. With the newly discovered phosphates, Mr Kapihya explained, Nitrogen Chemicals would soon start using more local materials in its chemical industry. Mr Kapihya said Nitrogen Chemicals produced 60,000 tonnes of ammonium nitrate a year. The company, wholly owned by the Party and its Government, expanded in 1975 to produce compound fertiliser. In its first year it produced 80,000 tonnes of fertiliser. Mr Kapihya told Mr Ceausescu, accompanied by Party Secretary-General Mulemba, the company was still expanding and improving its production. Mr Kapihya led the Romanian head of state on a tour of the plant. President Ceausescu's party later visited Kafue Textiles and toured the plant led by general manager Mr Rolf Klein. At the end of the tour, Mr Ceausescu was presented with Chitenge material. Among other officials who toured the two complexes included wife of the Romanian leader Elena, who is first deputy prime minister and Mrs Rhodia Mulemba. [Text] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 22 Jul 83 p 5]